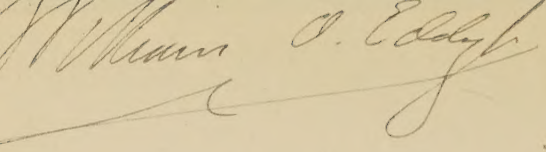
CHRIST IN HIS CHURCH

WILLIAM TEMPLE



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CHRIST IN HIS CHURCH

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CHRIST IN HIS CHURCH

A CHARGE

DELIVERED BY

THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM,
LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER

AT HIS

PRIMARY VISITATION

1924

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PREFACE

THE eight addresses published in this volume constituted the Charge delivered to the clergy of the Manchester Diocese at my Primary Visitation. They were delivered from brief notes, and are now published from the report taken at the time. On the whole it has seemed better to leave them in the form which they so received, rather than to re-write them in a more literary shape.

The general theological position which is presupposed is that set forth in my recent book, *Christus Veritas*, and I have not hesitated to repeat in substance one or two passages from that book; but these are very few. There I was attempting to state in outline a Christian philosophy; here I am concerned almost entirely with immediate duties and problems.

Some of the subjects handled overlap, but it seems best to leave the resultant repetitions, so that the discussion of each subject may be reasonably complete in itself.

The Charge was delivered, according to the custom of the diocese, to assemblies of the

clergy. In publishing it I wish to express my profound and ever-deepening admiration for their splendid devotion. In most parts of Lancashire the conditions are not encouraging. The parishes are understaffed, so that the clergy are overworked. Our towns were built before the days of garden cities, and have, as a rule, a drab appearance which is not exhilarating. In most parishes the whole population is poor, especially in these days of bad trade. Many of the clergy are unable to take any proper holiday. From month to month, and from year to year, they labour on with a noble persistence. It was my chief aim, as I spoke to them in this Visitation, to help them to recover some sense of the greatness of the task in which they are engaged, sometimes obscured as it is by the incessant cares, often small but always urgent, of a crowded parochial life. It will always be my keenest pleasure—as next to the actual task of a Bishop I think it my first duty—to give what little encouragement and stimulus I can to men so truly devoted to work as exacting as it is noble.

W. MANCHESTER.

Bishopscourt,
November, 1924.

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CHRIST IN HIS CHURCH

I

THE CHURCH, WHICH IS HIS BODY

[*Delivered to the Clergy of The Archdeaconry of Manchester (comprising the Rural Deaneries of the Cathedral, Ardwich, Cheetham, Eccles, Heaton, Hulme and Salford), in Manchester Cathedral on Monday, May* 19, 1924.]

THE holding of periodic Visitations was no doubt of more importance at a time when dioceses were even more extensive than they are now, when Bishops commonly had many occupations that kept them away from their dioceses, and when in any case means of communication were such that it was hard for the Bishop and the clergy to have any contact with one another apart from such formal arrangements as this. Yet there is no doubt a real gain in maintaining the custom by which from time to time the Bishop formally summons the clergy to meet him, not because on any

particular occasion there may be some special topic calling for his direct advice to the clergy, but because it secures that there shall be at least that measure, however small it be, of intercourse between himself and his brethren, and because these recurrent occasions give the opportunity, as need may arise, for consultation between the Bishop and the clergy concerning the work which they share together.

I do not anticipate that I shall again hold a Visitation quite in this form. Without pledging myself, I should like to give notice of my present intention on future occasions to choose some special subject of immediate importance, to set a few questions down on paper for which I shall be grateful for the answers that will come in, and then to arrange to visit the clergy of each deanery separately, not merely that they may hear a discourse from me, but that they may join with me in mutual consultation.

But at a primary Visitation an opportunity is afforded whereby the diocese may receive what I think it has a claim to have, namely, some deliberate expression from the Bishop of his mind with reference to some at least

of the living topics of the time; and in the successive addresses which I shall deliver during this Visitation I propose to speak in that way about the work of Christ through His Church in the world of our time, so far as I am able to apprehend it.

To-day, accordingly, I would begin with what must always be the introduction to any such consideration, namely, the setting forth once again of the high calling of the Church of Christ as His Body.

We are met here as the clergy of one main division of this great diocese, that is to say, as officers of a real unit of the whole Church of Christ, and though what I say must needs be mainly commonplace, it is, I think, of advantage that we should remind ourselves, whilst we are together in the presence of God, of the manner of Body in which we are called to discharge our office, and that we should try to apprehend the functions of this Body in relation to the whole of the Divine purpose in the world, so far as that is made known to us.

From one generation to another the thoughts of men are turned in successively different

directions, and in our age the main impetus determining the directions of human thought has come from the development of the natural sciences. I at least cannot doubt that this development is itself part of God's purpose for the progress of His people, and that the knowledge which is come to us is in its own way a Divine revelation. As a result of a century and more of such progress in natural science as the world had hitherto not known, we are finding ourselves more and more presented with a picture of the universe as consisting in grades, one imposed upon another in such way that the lower grade is necessary for the existence of the higher, while the higher uses the lower as its instrument and reveals within the lower qualities and capacities which otherwise would have remained unexpressed and therefore unknown. Broadly we may take four grades as known in our experience to which loosely the names may be given Matter, Life, Mind and Spirit. I should take as the distinguishing mark of Spirit the sense of obligation as distinct from all inclination, however much inclination may itself be swayed by affection. Without arguing the matter

further, for I have attempted to set out the argument in a book called *Christus Veritas*, I would merely state that there is a quality in matter revealed by living organisms, other than the mere principle of life itself, which could not have been detected by the processes of physics or chemistry; and that principle continues to hold as we pass from the first transition to the others. But with Man we reach, in a certain sense, finality, not that there may not be other grades higher than the human before you come to the Supreme Being Himself, but in Man we find the capacity for apprehending universal principles and realising the claims of absolute value. In man's reason, as a principle either of thought or of moral life, there is something which is in itself ultimate, for beyond the universal and absolute it is plainly impossible to go; here, therefore, if nowhere else, we find a kinship possible between God and man. We have reached at last, at some points, contact with the Supreme. Man, who is made, as the Bible tells us, in the image of God, is capable of intercourse with God and capable of becoming, as the lower grades of being are

not, the direct vehicle and instrument of the Divine Spirit.

All of that, as you will see, merely gives a general background, based upon what seem to be the prevailing tendencies in the thought of our time, for the doctrine of the Incarnation; and approached in that way there is, I think, far less initial difficulty about belief in the historic Incarnation than has been found in many previous days by those most sensitive to the thought of their own time. Indeed, the difficulty which men feel now in regard to the Incarnation is not due to their conception of the universe or of man, but rather is due to the conception of God which most currents in contemporary thought impel students to frame.

That is a side of the question into which I cannot now enter, but it is certainly true, as far as I can tell, that the difficulties among more thoughtful people with regard to the fundamental doctrine of our faith is due very largely to the fact that they are conceiving God in such a way as to make all specific action on His part impossible. They think of Him as in general Creator of the universe,

but never as acting here or there in any particular manner. Of course, if that is true, then neither can there be a historic incarnation of God through the medium of a human life. I mention that because it is good for us, as preachers of the Gospel, to try to understand what are the points at which our contemporaries, at any rate those of them most sensitive to the intellectual currents of the time (which does not at all times by any means mean only the most educated), are regarding the problems through which we may be called upon to guide them.

But we believe in a personal and living God, who not only is the general ground of all existence, but retains undiminished His full right to act in His own proper Person as He may see fit at any point in the history of the world which He has made; and if we accept that belief, which was the inheritance of the New Testament from the Old, and if we also have that outlook upon the world which I was just now indicating as being the main result, as I see it, of recent developments in human thought, then for us there is the means of constructing a fully coherent body of thought

theistic in its foundation, Christian in its principle, which covers the whole ground and links it together in unity. Then as the climax of that stratification of the world of which I was speaking we have the Incarnation itself. But the Incarnation is, for Christians, not something isolated; it is the seed and spring of a continuation of itself which is to go on through the ages until the purpose of God for mankind is fulfilled.

And so we come to the Church, which is the representative, in the historic order, of that infusion of Divine power into human nature which begins with the Divine act of the Incarnation; and as we conceive the Church, it is a sacramental Body, that is to say, a Body which exists to be the medium of the Divine Spirit. It is not an association together of people who, finding that they are agreed upon certain points, think it desirable to combine in order to propagate their opinions. It is the actual and necessary product of the fact of the Incarnation; and it is therefore itself, in the ground of its being, as Divine as the Lord Jesus Himself, and it is called His Body. There are in the

New Testament three uses of the phrase: the Body of Christ. It is used, of course, most easily and naturally of the physiological framework in which, to use St. John's fitting phrase, "He tabernacled among us" in the days of His earthly ministry. Such a use we have in the well-known words: "Himself bare our sins in His own Body on the tree;" and it is used again of the bread of the Eucharist, as when He Himself said: "This is My Body"; and it is used once more by St. Paul of the Church: "Now ye are the Body of Christ and severally members thereof." And in every one of these uses its significance is the same.

My body is so much of the physical world as moves when I desire that it should move. I don't have to think how I shall move my hand. My desire to move it causes it to move. We do not find ourselves paralysed until we have mastered physiological science. But of all other things in the world, I find that they only move, however strong my desire, when I bring my body into contact with them and lift them. My body, then, is so much of the physical world as is immediately

responsive to my will, and is therefore my means of accomplishing any purpose of mine in the world. And so the Body of Christ, in whatever application we use those words, must mean the vehicle of His spiritual power.

He first revealed His spiritual power in His Incarnation. He offers it to us constantly in the rite which He Himself instituted; and He exercises it through all the ages through His Church, which is thus His body. What is the purpose which the Church exists to serve? Congruently with what we have already said, we shall not expect to find the purpose of Christ other than the purpose of the Creator. The God who creates, and the God who redeems, is one God, and we shall expect to find that the function of the Church is to bring to fulfilment what we may also discover to be the main hopes and aspirations of human progress in all the ages.

When we study the course of civilisation we find that in effect it is always aiming at one result, though the methods pursued are very various, and they all of them in their degree have failed. But there is always one result that is aimed at, and that is the perfect

balance of liberty and order which is fitly called fellowship. Almost always men have found that the temptations that arise out of liberty are too strong for them, and have fallen back upon some despotic order merely in the interests of security and stability. But whenever they have done so they have become restive under the rigid order which they have for a time accepted, and liberty begins to reassert itself. The aim is always to create the perfect combination of liberty and order, to find that order of society which citizens freely will; but fellowship such as this implies is, as a matter of fact, always fellowship in something else; and here we come to what is the most fundamental principle, as I conceive it, of all thought about the organised life of man.

There are two kinds of goods. There are material goods, of which it is true that if one has more there is less for others; and that is true of all good things in proportion as they are material. It is absolutely true, for example, of such a material thing as land. If one man owns more land, there is less land for other people to own. It may be a good thing

that he should have more and they should have less; but that they must have less if he has more is a mere matter of arithmetic. It is true in some degree of economic wealth generally, but not completely, because economic wealth consists largely of credit, and credit contains a large admixture of moral elements, so that it is not at all true to say that the accumulation of economic wealth in one man's hands necessarily involves equivalent loss to others. But so far as men's minds are set upon the good things of which it is in any degree true that the more one has the less there is for others, so long is human fellowship impossible, because the success of one man or group or class or nation involves the comparative failure of the others.

But there is another group of goods of which it is true to say that the more one has, the more there is for all. That is true of knowledge. If one man acquires great stores of knowledge, others in their degree enter into partnership with him by merely meeting him and holding conversation with him. It is true of beauty, its creation and its appreciation, and it is true above all things of that goodness which

in practice takes the form of service. Here it is always true that the success of one redounds to the success of all; and therefore so soon as men can be won to set their hearts upon these things, which are what St. Paul calls "the things above" when he bids us to set our affection there, men will be brought into the fellowship which through all generations they are seeking; then, and not before.

But all these things are different modes of the activity of the Holy Ghost; and the fellowship which men have in knowledge or in the enjoyment of beauty or in the rendering of service is always, whether they know it or not, the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.

When we turn to find how the Apostles of the Lord described the purpose of the Church, we find that it exactly corresponds to the need of men so outlined. St. Paul sees the Christian Church as the perfect fellowship in which all the divisions among men have become negligible. The deepest division based upon religious history is negligible; there is neither Jew nor Gentile. The deepest division based on culture or education is negligible; there is neither Greek nor barbarian. The deepest

division based on economic difference is negligible; there is neither bond nor free. Even the very division of sex has become spiritually negligible, and there is neither male nor female. What is there? There is "one man in Christ Jesus." Now if it be true, as I should maintain, that the best principle to take as our guide to the whole conception of personality is the principle of will or purpose, then it is true, quite literally and accurately true, that, if you have an assembly of persons all dominated by one will and one purpose, they are in a real sense one person. St. Paul sees the members of the Christian Church so possessed by the Spirit of Christ, and so dedicated to the fulfilment of His purpose that they are one person in Christ; and he looks forward to the time when all races and all individuals will have brought in their own contribution to that corporate personality; then, and then only, we shall see the measure of the stature of the fullness of the Christ, when we are all come to a full-grown man, the one man in Christ Jesus grown to the fullness of His stature.

Now this society, launched into the world

to be the manifestation of perfect fellowship, is constantly nourished with the Divine life; this is offered to us through the medium of our Lord's Humanity, His Body and His Blood, so that there is in the Church, if we will only use it, the means of progressively realising what is revealed through Christ to be the Divine purpose for man, and is discovered by the study of history to be the aspiration in mankind which God has implanted there from the beginning. There are our task and our function.

You can conceive no higher calling than the calling to be a member of the Body of Christ; and we who are ministers have no higher calling than that, though we have the supreme privilege of dedicating our own life directly, and not only, as many others must, indirectly, to the fulfilment of that purpose and to the maintenance of that goal before the minds and imagination of mankind. So then, let us try to realise our fellowship one with another in this great calling. We shall see at once that if the Church is to perform the task which is divinely allotted to it, it must be a united Church. A Church cannot

draw all mankind into fellowship with one another and bridge all divisions if it is itself divided; and therefore the recovery of Christian unity, so much before us in these days, is a primary necessity if the divinely appointed work of the Church is to be accomplished; and to that end we must first of all cultivate in every way we can the sense of fellowship among ourselves, realising that we are colleagues in one great enterprise, participators in one Divine calling.

But there is one addition which the Christian revelation makes to all that I have said. We are called to a fellowship in the Holy Spirit not only in knowledge and beauty and service but beyond all this also in common self-sacrifice. The Body with which the life of the Church is nourished is the Body broken; the Blood which is the vehicle of the Divine Life is Blood poured out in sacrifice. I know that the life of most of you, my brethren, is at all times a life of much self-denial, very often a life of real want of those things needed not only for comfort, but even for fullness of strength and efficiency; and we must seek to remedy all that hampers the true efficiency

of the Church's ministers through straitened resources. But let us constantly bear it in mind that, whatever form it may take, it can only be so far as we ourselves are members of Christ in self-sacrifice as in all other ways that we can play our part in uniting together the fellowship of Christian people which is at once the nucleus and the promise of that perfect fellowship which is the fully realised Kingdom of God.

II

INCARNATION, MIRACLE, SACRAMENT AND VOCATION

[*Delivered to the Clergy of the Rural Deanery of Bolton in Bolton Parish Church on June* 17, 1924.]

In the first part of this Charge, delivered in Manchester Cathedral, I spoke about the place of the Incarnation in relation both to the thought of our time and to the whole doctrine and function of the Church. To-day I must try to carry that same thought a little further and come to closer grips with some of the outstanding questions of our own day. The Incarnation as a revelation of God clearly confirms the ancient faith of Israel in a living God, and I believe that there is at the present time no doctrine which so much needs a continual emphasis as the doctrine of the living God, because the enemy of Christianity in our time, or, rather, to speak more accurately, its rival as a claimant for the allegiance of men's minds, is not materialism, which is

intellectually quite dead though it may, of course, still be found in those quarters which are affected rather late by the intellectual movements of the time. The rival at the present time is a spiritual philosophy which interprets the world in terms of spiritual values, but none the less regards it as a closed system, the supreme principle of which may be called a Spirit, but has no initiative, no special purpose, beyond the general control of the world, and on no occasion takes any kind of particular action. You will find that view, not, of course, brought down to those crude terms, in a great amount of the philosophical writing of the time, and it is a far harder point of view to combat than was materialism. There is need for a more sympathetic handling, for a greater understanding of the grounds which have led to the formulation of this rival view than was at all necessary in those who would refute materialism.

But the Christian religion is quite plainly committed, and absolutely committed, to the doctrine of a God who, in Lord Balfour's phrase, "takes sides," and is not merely the Immanent Spirit of the whole universe,

pervading its every part and allotting to every occurrence its place in the intellectual scheme of the whole. The God revealed in Christ, as in the Hebrew prophets, is a God of clear moral purpose, a God whose purpose has, in fact, been defied and flouted at least by mankind, and has Himself taken active steps for our redemption. "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for He hath visited and redeemed His people." The first phrase of the *Benedictus* at once asserts the fundamental features of the Christian doctrine of God and gives it its distinctive mark in comparison with those philosophical theories which are at the present moment widely influential.

On the other side the Incarnation reveals the created universe as the sphere of this Divine activity. It insists that however much there may be of evil and sin in the world, nothing that God made is, in fact, incapable of becoming completely and altogether the vehicle of this purpose, nor is there anything which exists of which you can say that it is in itself inherently evil or that there is no use to be made of it by those who would live in conformity with the mind of God—still less that there is anything

that can be left upon one side, out of the scope of God's claim, while yet it forms part of the common life of men.

If we put these two together we begin to see, I think, how indispensable is the place of that element which perhaps more than any other in traditional Christianity is challenged by the mind of our time so far as it stands aloof from the Church—I mean miracle. If there is a God who is not merely the Immanent Spirit of the world but is its Creator, so that the world itself exists only by reason of His will, and if the world so existing is in every part of it capable of being utilised for His purpose, then we shall most naturally expect that where there is any sufficient occasion, God puts forth those reserves of power which are not exerted in the ordinary course of the world's history, and intervenes with specific definite actions. That is only difficult if you have begun with the assumption of the world as a closed system. The difficulty about miracles is not in the smallest degree a scientific difficulty. It is a purely philosophicdifficulty, a difficulty belonging to a general habit of thought which scientific study no doubt tends to encourage,

but which is itself in no way requisite for the activities and research of science itself. When we are speaking accurately we should, I think, carefully avoid referring to miracles as breaches of natural law, because the only sense in which a natural law can be asserted as universal is one which converts it into a hypothetical judgment affirming that, if you have identical causes, you must have identical results. But the whole of the religious argument concerning miracle is to the effect that we have unusual results because there were at work unusual causes, and therefore the whole religious value of miracle depends upon the miracle being not a breach of the natural law, but an illustration of a law which finds comparatively few occasions for its action; and the unity of the world, which all thought demands, is by this in no way imperilled. It would, of course, be not only imperilled but destroyed if we had first conceived it along the lines of the unity which is discoverable in such a science as mathematics or physics; but if we are Christians and have found in the Incarnation a revelation of the Supreme Power in the universe, then our analogy will not be

drawn from sciences which study what is dead, but from the science which studies what is living, and above all from what in our experience gives us the nearest analogy that we can have to the Supreme Being Himself—the moral purpose of man.

Now the man of strong character and high purpose does not reveal those qualities by a mechanical absence of variety in his conduct. On the contrary, he reveals those qualities by the completeness with which he adapts his conduct to changing circumstances so as always to pursue his constant and unchanging goal and aim. So we may imagine, for example, a statesman concerned to develop a new nationality, such as those that have been formed in Central Europe by the recent treaty. It is quite possible that he may spend many years strengthening the central government, as being the one means of establishing unity among all these people newly brought together. During that time he will have to meet, probably, the opposition of people calling themselves Liberals, who are mainly concerned with local and personal liberties. Then, having always one aim in view, he may

decide that such unity as can be achieved by strong central government has been established and now the time has come to go on and secure that this unity reaches right into the hearts of all the component parts of the nation, both groups and individuals. So he starts upon a policy of devolution and increasingly makes scope for local free action. Now his opponents will be exactly those people who had supported him before, and his former enemies will say that he has seen the error of his ways and come over to their side. And all the while he, and he only, has had a purpose really big enough to enable him to follow what is afterwards seen to be one constant course, by adapting his action on each occasion to the circumstances of that time in such a way as to promote his one aim. We are all familiar with the fact that in the lives of all men the great majority of actions are quite void of any significance in relation to moral character. The great man and the small man may get up at the same time in the morning, and dress themselves in the same way, and eat the same things for breakfast; and if you tabulate all the things that men do in the day you will find

that the great majority of them are the same for people of the most widely different characters. But the differing characters are revealed in their reaction, their response, to testing circumstances; you may have two men, twin brothers perhaps, brought up under almost identical influences and showing a great identity both of character and of taste, but in some emergency one rises to the height of the occasion and the other proves inadequate. You don't say that the former suddenly becomes the thing that he then shows himself to be, you say: "I never thought he had it in him." Such expressions represent our recognition that what is revealed by the emergency was present all the time. So if we conceive the unity of the world as grounded in the will of God, we shall not be at all disturbed by the occurrence of special activities of the kind that are called miracles, where the occasion for them is adequate; and in face of the supreme occasion offered to God by the fact of human sin we shall expect to find a quite specially revealing act of God, such as Christianity claims that He took when He became incarnate.

So, then, I wish to suggest that the whole conception of God and the world which is implied in the central doctrine of our faith forbids us to make the smallest surrender in principle to the demand that we shall exclude belief in miracles from our doctrine. We shall not, therefore, say that we accept every miracle of which we hear. Each one must make good its claim upon its own merits and the evidence that may be forthcoming. But in principle we shall affirm that ours is a religion based upon a belief in such a God as can work miracles, and that, the world being what it is, He has worked miracles.

All this finds a further application in the doctrine of the Sacraments. The difficulty which many people find about the Sacraments is due to a resentment against the thought that God offers Himself to us at any particular time or place or in any particular way. Surely, they say, He pervades the universe; we are always in His presence: His love is constant; wherever we turn to Him we shall find Him. All that is true; and all that is true of the familiar actions prompted by the will of all men of great purpose which yet do not reveal

that purpose in any conspicuous degree; and it is perfectly compatible with this that there should be special ways appointed by God Himself where He offers Himself to us, not that He is elsewhere undiscoverable, but that here He provides the conditions which make our access to Him not only specially easy but for creatures such as we are specially effective. Here, as in the Incarnation, we have specific acts of God; for of course the work of Grace accomplished by means of any Sacrament is the work of God Himself and not of His ministers except as instruments; and here, too, as in the Incarnation, we have the material made into the vehicle through which the Grace is given. It seems, too, that in order that the Sacraments may take that place in the thought and practice of the Church which, I believe, belongs to them by right, and which seems to me to be a proper corrective of the more dangerous tendencies in the thought of our time, we need to insist strongly upon the objectivity of the Divine act in the Sacraments, or (to put it another way) we need to insist that what God offers and gives to us is in no way limited by our understanding of it nor is

our reception limited by our understanding of it. When at the Holy Communion we receive the elements that Christ appointed as in obedience to His own command, the Grace given to our souls is not in the smallest degree conditioned by our understanding of it; and the simplest soul may receive as much as the profoundest theologian; nor does it depend, again, upon our feelings, nor upon our actual realisation at the moment in any way at all. It does not depend upon us, except so far as we are trusting God; it depends upon Him. It is His act; and all we have to do is to leave ourselves in His hands and to receive what He will give. There must, of course, be the faith of the receiver if he is to appropriate the Divine gift, but the faith is not faith in a doctrine, still less is it faith in some particular theory of the Sacrament; it is faith in God, the personal and living God who offers to His children His own gifts.

The three subjects that I have connected together so far are commonly associated—Incarnation, Miracle and Sacrament; and with them I desire that we should associate a fourth, for I believe that it is here that we

have the greatest contribution of all to make to the thought and life of our time. With these we must associate Vocation. The greatest evil of our time is the secularisation of a large part of life—the sense that somehow or other it lies outside the sphere of God's purpose; and if the Church had only remembered at the time of what is commonly called the Industrial Revolution, that all activities should be undertaken for God's service, and, if they cannot be used in His service, should not be undertaken at all, we should have been spared some of the worst horrors of nineteenth-century civilisation. But unless we are quite clear in our thought about God and His world we shall hesitate to claim that Industry, for example, can be, in the strict sense of the words, Divine service. Unless we are quite clear about what is affirmed in every Sacrament of the Church, that the material can become, and has become, the vehicle of the spiritual, we shall hardly dare to make the claim, which none the less must be made, upon our civilisation.

We are perfectly familiar with the general notion of vocation, but we also know that a

great number of people, even of those who say their prayers, think of vocation only in relation to the Ministry. One of the chief lessons that we must impress, as I think, on our generation, is the fact that every soul that God has made has its vocation from Him and that its well-being consists in finding and fulfilling that vocation. There are very few human activities whereby men gain their living which are not acts of service to the community. It is open to some doubt, I suppose, whether, let us say, the manufacturer of idols in Birmingham, where I believe they are made freely, can carry on that calling to the glory of God. There would seem to be some difficulties; though even there, if he determined to make them more beautiful and uplifting, less ugly and degrading, he might claim to be of some service. But nearly all occupations whereby men gain their daily bread only exist because through them service is rendered to the community. Whether they are professions or trades, they exist because they supply what the community requires and for no other purpose. But if that is recognised and the general good is the first

object in view, so that they are capable of being exercised as channels of the love of God, we must claim and consecrate them. We suffer from a dangerous limitation both of the sacramental principle and of the thought of vocation. We damage, and then make perilous in itself, the sacramental principle, when we isolate the Sacraments of the Church from the holy use of God's material gifts in God's service. But just as we set apart some times and keep them holy, not because other times are unholy, but to represent the sanctity of all times; and as we consecrate certain places not because other places are outside God's sovereignty, but to represent and to remind us of the sanctity of all places; so too we consecrate certain food and drink by the Lord's command, not because other food and drink are something which has no bearing on our life as servants of God, but to remind us of the fact that everything we eat and drink should be building us up as members of Christ's Body. The sacramental principle pervades the whole of life. It finds its culmination in what we call specifically the Sacraments, but we make even these misleading, and are heading

straight for pure magic, when we isolate them and do not let them shed the light which they can upon the whole use in the world of material things in God's service. So with regard to vocation. It is not only to the ministry that God calls men, or to fields of heroic action, but to all by which men can both serve their fellow-men and earn their living. Does anyone doubt that all our social life would be revolutionised if all our fellow-citizens were really conscious of their calling as a definite vocation? If they entered upon it with that thought uppermost in their minds, they would in their self-examination always be asking themselves how far in their commercial, their professional, their industrial life they have been keeping God's will steadily before them. We have all about us noble examples of men who are using their positions, commercial, professional and industrial, to forward the general good; but we have not, I think, laid as much stress as can be laid, and as we ought to lay, upon this aspect of our life's employment. Because we believe in the Incarnation, and in such a God as was in Jesus Christ made flesh, we must claim that all life

and all activities of men should be conducted in direct relation to Him, and that the material things of life can be dedicated and consecrated.

The first need of our time in relation to social problems is surely that we should proclaim Christ's redemption of the common life of men. I do not mean, when I say the first need, that this can be effectively done unless those invisible foundations of Christian life are first well laid which consist in the conversion and dedication of the individual soul; but the first social need of our time, as distinct perhaps from some other periods, is surely to be found here; and for our need, as for the needs of all other generations, the resources are provided by the Christian religion if we will both genuinely think out its implications and then fearlessly apply them.

III

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CATHOLIC AND EVANGELICAL

[*Delivered to the Clergy of the Rural Deaneries of Rochdale, Oldham and Ashton-under-Lyne in Rochdale Parish Church on June* 21, 1924.]

In the former addresses I have tried to speak of the place of the Church in the scheme of the Divine providence and of the connected subjects of the Incarnation, Miracle, Sacrament and Vocation. To-day I come nearer to our more practical problems, and I wish to speak of the character of the Church of England as both Catholic and Evangelical. It is, of course, a commonplace to maintain, and yet I believe it is both our duty and our privilege to maintain, that the Church of England has a unique vocation, as being the heir of two great traditions, the Catholic and the Evangelical, which elsewhere are almost always held in separation from each other. Of course I do not mean that any true Catholic Church can be

devoid of the Evangelical element, nor do I mean that any true Evangelical can deny the Catholic character of the Church. None the less it is, broadly speaking, true that in other parts of Christendom one or other of these traditions is emphasised almost to the exclusion of its supplement, whereas in the Church of England the two are held together. Not always are they held by the same person, for indeed a man would have to attain to almost superhuman wisdom if he were to do full justice to both of these traditions and maintain the true balance between them. But in the whole society of the Church it has always been recognised that both the traditions have their rightful place and their own indispensable contribution to the life of the whole body.

I ought perhaps to pause for a moment to justify myself for speaking of two traditions rather than three, for we are accustomed to hear about three schools of thought in the Church of England—the Catholic, the Evangelical and the Liberal; but I must ask leave to insist that the Liberal tradition is not, as such, a distinctively religious tradition at all. It is the effect of the intercourse of our religious

experience and thought with the experience and thought which come to us from the rest of life. As such it must always have some place in the outlook of every intelligent Christian, and you only reach the distinctive Liberal school when you get a group of people in whom concern for the relation between their religious doctrine and experience and the other contents of experience and thought which life provides, takes the first place, or at least a quite predominant place, in their concern; meanwhile the Liberal element enters very largely into both the Catholic and the Evangelical schools, so that I always rather deplore any special organisation of Liberal Churchmen as such, because it seems to me that such an organisation tends to divert attention from the central concern of the two religious schools of thought, namely, the specifically religious life and outlook upon the world. Therefore that third school seems to me rather to find its place as a leaven in the whole society, permeating the other two, than as a distinct body by itself.

The Church of England, then, while it, like all other religious bodies in the world, is affected

by the currents of thought outside the Church, and is therefore involved in the perpetual responsibility of translating its message into terms which are intelligible to men of successive generations, is peculiarly marked by the fact that it represents the drawing together, by quite deliberate policy, of the Catholic and Evangelical traditions in Christendom.

When we begin to speak of what these are in their relation to one another, and of what is requisite in order that the fellowship between them can be maintained, we inevitably come to controversial ground, and whereas with what I have said in the former addresses I hope that all who heard me, or subsequently read them, will be in substantial agreement, I can hardly expect to be so fortunate when I venture upon the ground which I must now enter. At the same time, as I have said, this is particularly an opportunity for the Bishop to declare his mind to his diocese, which, as I think, has a right to know what his mind is.

The Catholic tradition is concerned primarily with order in religious life—order as represented both by creed and by ministry. I have already said that the division or distinction

between Catholic and Evangelical is not absolute, and I must ask you not to suppose that because I attribute an especial emphasis upon these points to the Catholic tradition that I imagine Evangelicals are blind to their value; but it is distinctive of the Catholic tradition that it lays its emphasis upon order, and calls upon the individual for obedience.

The creed formulated by the Church is an expression of its experience and is a warning against possible lines of doctrinal speculation which have already been shown to be disastrous; it is given to the individual with an authority which, not quite final and absolute, is none the less so overwhelming that any questioning of it can only be academic; and the ministry has authority in that it is something which has been received from almost the earliest ages of the Church, and perhaps from the very beginning of all—something, therefore, which again has about it the authority that belongs to the life of the whole body and is beyond any questioning by successive generations as they may now come. And all this order is valued, not chiefly, of course, for itself, but as an expression of the corporate life which

is fundamental in the experience of Christians, and more particularly of such Christians as have been bred in the Catholic tradition.

From the beginning those who have given their hearts in allegiance to Christ as His disciples have found themselves thereby constituted into a Society and Fellowship so close that they have regarded it as pervaded by one spirit, and they have learned to think of that spirit as the Spirit of Christ Himself; and therefore, in the judgment of the heir of the Catholic tradition, the religious life is never an individual affair, but primarily and ultimately and in the middle it is always completely and absolutely the life of a member in the body; he is the recipient of a stream of life which pervades the whole body and all the other members; he differs from those other members only in endowment, and therefore in the contribution of service which he can render; but he is utterly united with the body and incapable of any Christian life at all in separation from it. All of that you will recognise as familiar in the Pauline epistles.

This sense of order, valued for the maintenance of corporate life, finds its expression

in the insistence on Orders in the Ministry and especially on sacramental worship. The Sacraments are, for the Catholic, always activities of the Church. It is the Church that acts; and the individual members who seek to receive the benefits of the Sacraments, do so only in their capacity as members of the Church; as individuals standing apart by themselves they would have no place there. Above all, the Holy Communion is the meal of the holy fellowship, and it is as a fellowship, as united members of the Holy Communion, that we partake of the gift God sends and hope to receive its benefit. So we receive the gift of the Body of Christ that, sustained in our own souls by His spiritual Body, we may be built up into His Body, which is the Church.

Closely, though less obviously, connected with this line of thought, is the definite insistence upon transcendence, which has, I suppose, in fact been more potently upheld by Rome than by any other part of Christendom—the strong insistence upon the supreme Majesty of the Most High, calling for the sense of utter self-abasement in those who would draw near to Him. That has been prevailingly the note,

in all the ages, of Catholic worship. It is closely associated with all that I have said for this reason: it is only in so far as we think of God as One altogether above us that we can find in Him the source of a complete unity binding us together. Such a God as any one group of men might readily understand, still more such a God as they might conceive out of their own minds, can never become a source of unity between persons so diverse as are even the individual members of a single nation, far less a source of a unity such as to bind in fellowship all persons of all nations and all races. That is a function only possible to a truly transcendent God.

The Evangelical tradition, as I understand it, emphasises not first the element of order in spiritual life, but first the element of freedom; and this is plainly just as essential and indispensable as the other, for if the order is merely accepted without any real responsibility of the individual, there can be no real development of personal religion at all. And the freedom which is encouraged with respect to institutions and ordinances is valued as representing the right of every individual to access to his

Heavenly Father through Jesus Christ; every soul that God has made is welcome as a child in his Father's home, and there is no need for elaborate organisation either of ecclesiastical hierarchy or dignified worship in order that the child of God can speak to his Father and enter into the most intimate communion.

This is all perfectly true and vitally important; and along with this there has historically been a greater personal concern about social righteousness than has been traditionally characteristic of the Catholic tradition. It is true that in recent years it has been, in our own Church at least, rather members of the High Church party than Evangelicals that have taken the most active concern in the development of social progress; but that is relatively exceptional, and is partly due to the fact that the progressive movement at the present time happens to be in the collectivist direction, and therefore appeals more strongly to those who emphasise the Catholic conception that we are all members of the one Body, than to those who press the Evangelical insistence on freedom and the necessity for individual reality of dedication.

Looking over history broadly, and especially the history of the last 150 years or so, I do not think that in any country the Catholic tradition has triumphs to show in this field which are even remotely comparable to what the Evangelicals accomplished in the Abolition of the Slave Trade or the beginnings of Factory Legislation under Lord Shaftesbury. In our own time it has been proved that in efforts for social righteousness those Christian bodies which are entirely and solely Evangelical—the Nonconformist Free Churches—have almost invariably been in advance of ourselves. There has often been, as I think, considerable evidence in their activities of a Puritanism which seems to me less than fully Christian, but their zeal remains admirable, and something that we should not only admire but emulate.

Coherently with this general emphasis in the religious life, the Evangelical tradition has tended, though by no means in all its adherents, towards an emphasis upon the Divine Immanence, upon the presence of God actually at work in every individual soul, and therefore also in the course of history. Indeed, in those parts of Evangelical Christianity which have

cut themselves loose from the Catholic tradition, and have therefore developed these peculiarities more thoroughly and perhaps more one-sidedly, there is sometimes a tendency to represent the God whom we serve as being immanent only. I have already shown ground for feeling that that conception is inadequate, because (among other reasons) it gives no ground for hope that the great Divine purpose of binding us altogether into unity can ever be accomplished. On the other hand, an insistence on Transcendence which ignores the reality of the Divine Immanence tends to make very difficult a real love of God such as is pleaded for throughout the New Testament. Indeed, if Immanence be struck out altogether, the Incarnation itself becomes impossible and we are left with such a theology as is provided in the better types of Mohammedanism.

Now the danger of the Catholic tradition quite plainly is rigidity, a lack of sympathy, a tendency to apply fixed rules in all cases, because they are the laws of a society whose authority is so greatly exalted, and along with that an interpretation of rites, and particularly Sacraments, which is indistinguishable from

magic; because unless there is insistence upon the individual response in the appropriation of the Divine gift by individual faith, any insistence on sacramental efficacy is, as far as I can see, neither more nor less than an assertion of the magical character of the Sacraments.

I conceive the danger of Evangelicalism to be disintegration—that people of like minds should form bodies and thereby generate a great intensity of zeal, whilst they lose those aspects of Christian experience and tradition which were not particularly evident in their minds at the time of their separation; then they develop their own peculiar tendencies in a one-sided way which may become definitely erroneous; and along with this the emphasis upon the necessity of the action of the individual will and the concern for righteousness may easily lead to one of the commonest and most disastrous of heresies—Pelagianism—that is to say, the heresy that bids us act rightly, for God will reward us, but does not teach us that only by the presence of the Holy Spirit within us are we capable of acting rightly.

I am far from saying that Evangelicals as a rule hold any such view; but it is certainly

true that in distinctly Protestant circles, when you get away from the Clergy and the Ministers, it is very commonly upheld in this island, and, if I may say so, it would seem peculiarly pervasive of Lancashire.

Our task as inheritors of this great tradition which binds together the two main streams of Christian life is to consider how we can, in fact, maintain the equipoise. First let us notice the conditions under which our reformers put out the Book of Common Prayer. We have far too much tended to take the Prayer Book as if it were intended to be a complete library of devotion for members of the Church of England. It is not that. It is a book of *common* prayer. It is a book drawn up at a certain date to express the common mind of the Church in devotion and in worship; but of course it is permissible, and in my judgment it is desirable and almost necessary, that individuals should supplement that book very largely in order that their own special ways of access to God may really be followed and that they may receive the full fruit of that intercourse with God which His gifts to them have made possible. Do not let us suppose

that the Book of Common Prayer represents all that is needed in the prayer of any individual Christian or group. But meanwhile for the purpose of Common Prayer there must be some agreed form of worship which is sufficiently acceptable to the representatives of both traditions.

We may be about to try the experiment of alternative forms of fully authorised services. We may even be coming to try the experiments of alternative forms of the Communion Service. I am not now speaking of the fact that there may be a period of permissive alternatives, where the present Prayer Book stands unrevised and another book is experimentally adopted as an alternative to it, because in the minds of those who have framed such proposals it was always intended that, if the proposed alternative should commend itself, it should at last, when perhaps further amended, take the place of the original Prayer Book. But we may be going to try the experiment of permitting alternative forms as a permanent arrangement.

If circumstances lead us to regard that as the best step that is actually open to us, it

will put an extra strain upon our loyalty to one another; for it is quite clear that there is an immense, an overwhelming, advantage in having one form on which we are all agreed, however differently it may be presented in matters of ceremonial and the like. If we adopt the method of different forms for different groups, we shall indeed be in great danger, though it will not be more than danger, of becoming two Churches. The only way in which that danger can be averted is by laying additional stress upon a very high cultivation of the spirit of mutal goodwill. I am never able to urge people to avoid becoming "party-men." I believe that every Christian should try to study as fully and as strictly as he can the truth as it is given to himself, and that he will develop his religious life best by associating with others to whom the truth has come in a somewhat similar way; so parties arise, and I think it is desirable that parties should arise; but it is indispensable that we should be free from the spirit of partisanship, for that means the spirit which regards members of other parties or schools within the Church as in a sense antagonistic. Then if I am a Catholic,

the Evangelicals are my antagonists; if I am an Evangelical, the Catholics are my antagonists. But the only real enemies of any real Christian are the world, the flesh, and the devil. The whole Church needs us all, and therefore we ought whole-heartedly to rejoice in one another's success in the service of the Kingdom of God, and we ought also to be determined that we will never press our own practice beyond the points which the other group can in this spirit willingly tolerate.

Now there are certain features of Anglicanism which belong to it precisely as representing the convergence of the two Christian traditions, and I would say a word about this because I believe that understanding their importance in the whole character of the Church is one main way of maintaining our loyalty to the Church of England. I have no patience with people who, being members of the Church of England, consider that they owe no loyalty to the Church of England, but only, as they would sometimes say, to the Universal Church or, more vaguely still, to the Truth. The universal Church as an object of practical loyalty most lamentably does not exist. It is

earnestly to be hoped and prayed that God will restore the unity of His Church so that we may be loyal to the whole of it in a practical way. But at present that is impossible. I have heard of priests who say that they have felt bound to celebrate the Holy Communion, or, as they would probably express it, to say Mass, according to the method recognised and authorised by the Western Church. By the Western Church they mean, of course, the Roman Communion, which comprises the majority of the Western Episcopal Church. But the only thing that the Roman Catholic Church has to tell them about saying Mass is that they cannot say it at all; this plea, therefore, must be regarded as utterly inadmissible.

Let me take one illustration which represents, I think, peculiarly the genius of Anglicanism, and also, I hope, a recovery of the true balance of Christian doctrine. Quite deliberately at the Reformation our Church went back from the idea of the Mass, as a service of Holy Communion without any actual Communion except of the priest, to the conception of a Communion in which the congregation, or at

least members of the congregation, would participate. That was plainly a perfectly deliberate action. Now you may regret it. I do not. You may regret it, and if you regret it you are at liberty, no doubt, to plead for the truth as you see it and to hope that your view will prevail and that the Church will with equal deliberateness alter this regulation. Meanwhile it stands; and whilst I can see no kind of objection to the presence of communicants at a celebration of Holy Communion who do not make their Communion on that particular occasion, I do think that it is quite plainly disloyal to the whole spirit, as well as to the specific regulations, of the Church of England, to hold a celebration of the Holy Communion at which no opportunity is given for any but the priest to communicate, or at which the communion of the congregation is in any way discouraged. I take that quite deliberately as a difficult point, but as a point which illustrates the kind of balance that the Church of England has steadily tried to preserve. Similarly it may be in the future—I do not know—that Reservation will come to be generally permitted in the Church of England, and it

would be perfectly consistent with our tradition hitherto that there should be a clear recognition of the reverence due to the Blessed Sacrament when reserved, and liberty for any individual who so wished to pray in the Church where the Blessed Sacrament was known to be reserved, and yet to decline altogether any sanction to organised devotions before the Blessed Sacrament definitely held and announced as such. I believe myself that that is the right point at which to draw the line; but if it is, then it is so because of that balance of truth which is represented in the Church of England by the coming together of those two great traditions.

It would not be fitting that I should go on with one instance after another expressing in this arbitrary manner my personal opinion upon debated points; but I would close by asking that all of us who hold the high privilege of ministry in the Church of England should be proud of our inheritance and be loyal to our tradition, made up as it is of these two traditions; and that we should try to persuade our people, while they follow the particular forms of religious experience which have been dear

to them, to set a hardly less value upon the other forms which enrich the Church of England from other sources; above all, never to regard their fellow-churchmen who differ from them as rivals or antagonists, but always as kindred souls in whom Christ is revealing some other aspects of His Grace, and who have received from Him some other portion of His inexhaustible gifts.

IV

CHURCH AND STATE

[*Delivered to the Clergy of the Rural Deaneries of Bury, Radcliffe and Prestwich, Middleton and Rossendale in Bury Parish Church on June* 26, 1924.]

To-day I wish to say something about the relationship of the Church to the general life of society and the world, especially as that is organised and expressed through the State.

The Church is a Divine creation set in the midst of the world with a purpose, to fulfil which it must define its relationship to the other organised activities of mankind. If it merely goes upon its own way, ignoring all that is done otherwise than in its own name, it will be failing, in fact, to claim for the sovereignty of its Lord vast tracts of human life. Therefore we have to determine the place of the Church in its relation to institutions and movements which lie outside its own organisation; and we must not think of this as simply the relationship of what is Divine

to what is not Divine, for while the Church is indeed a Divine creation set in the midst of the world, the world itself in which the Church is so set is a Divine creation also; and while human nature is " very far gone from original righteousness," while it has departed very gravely from the ideal course planned for it by the Divine Creator, we cannot suppose that it has escaped His control or that human history is something utterly outside the scope of the Divine purpose. The whole Bible would condemn us if we adopted any such view, for it is very largely concerned with the fulfilment of the Divine purpose in the life of nations.

So then the relation of Church and world is not at all to be confounded with the relation of good and evil. The world is not something merely evil; it is something capable of becoming completely good, for it is God's, and was made by Him for the fulfilment of His purpose. " Human society, as organised apart from God," is one famous definition of " the world " in its theological sense; but it is not something which, as a matter of fact, escapes the control of God; nor is there any man, however defiant or contemptuous he may be

of revealed religion, who as a matter of fact is exempt from the influence upon his conscience and his will of the Holy Spirit of God.

The relation of the Church to the world is not, then, the relation of something which is good to what is bad, but it is the relation of that which has within it the secret and the power of perfection to that which needs the communication of that secret and power in order that it may attain perfection.

The Church as we see it composed of men and women is indeed very often a poor medium through which the essential life of the Church, which is the life of Christ Himself, can work, because we who are members of the Church are also members of the world, and unless we have achieved an absolute and complete self-dedication—and which of us can claim that?—we must remember that the redeeming forces which are at work within the Church must operate upon us who are members of the Church no less than upon those who are outside its organised life.

Now if we are ready to trace the purpose of a Divine providence in the history of the world,

we are as a rule very ready to notice how the course of what would ordinarily be called secular history prepared the way for the coming of the Gospel and the spread of the Church. Thus, in particular, Greek thought had supplied the world with a medium of interpretation for the Divine self-disclosure, and the theology of the Church was worked out in the terms which Plato and Aristotle and the great Stoics had provided for the thought of men; in the same way the establishment of the Roman Empire, which provided an interval of comparative peace wherein movement from one country to another was easy so far as the means of communication in that time allowed, and which facilitated the building up of a society conscious of unity in itself despite the distances which separated one group within it from another, was the main factor in rendering possible the very thought, still more the actual achievement, of a Catholic Church.

We very often let our thoughts stop there. We ought, I think, to pay no less attention to the fact that so soon as the Church's doctrine was tolerably well settled by the controversies of the age of the Councils, the

social order broke up, and the break-up of the Roman Empire was surely, as we look back upon it, just as providential as its establishment and has just the same relationship to God's purpose of making the Gospel the foundation truth of human life; for the old Empire, whatever its merits, and they were great, was none the less founded upon principles which were genuinely incompatible with the principles of Christianity.

The spread of slavery in Italy was, no doubt, one main cause of its ruin; yet apart from slavery in Italy the Empire could hardly have been maintained at all. Unless there had been secured that kind of leisure for Roman citizens which only slavery could afford, it would hardly have been possible for that comparatively small country to establish an empire that would dominate the known world; and yet slavery, we know, is incompatible with the mind of Christ. And again it was quite openly and avowedly founded upon force. Justice was maintained through the Roman Empire mainly on the grounds of expediency. There was comparatively little interest in justice as a sacred principle, and

Pontius Pilate, though no doubt he was far inferior to even the average of Roman provincial governors and was a man of notorious cruelty, yet takes his place, not unfairly, as the representative of the order of the Roman Empire confronted with the Head of the new dispensation.

The old order broke up, and a period ensued which is called the Dark Ages. We do indeed know singularly little about its history; most of us know next to nothing of it. One of the facts which to my mind is most bewildering of any that I know is the fact that more years elapsed between the year of the coming of Julius Cæsar and the coming of William the Conqueror to this island than between the coming of William the Conqueror and the present day. In the latter period falls practically the whole of European history, certainly almost the whole of English history. Of the earlier period we know just a few episodes: but it was a long period; and during that long time of germination the Church of Christ was the one binding force in human life, and gradually its influence worked like leaven, though it is true that it was itself to

some extent degraded by contact with the world in which it worked.

Then came one of the greatest spiritual movements that has ever swept over Europe—the Hildebrandine Reformation; and at the end of it, it was found that not only had the Church reasserted its spiritual character, but that in so doing it had been able also to make with substantial success a claim to dominate the whole field of human life and to unite in one great society of Christendom all civilised nations. All the while, of course, there was the Eastern Church and the Eastern Empire standing apart from these movements and maintaining scarcely any contact with the Western world; in the West the Church not only reformed itself but indeed, through the process of its own reformation, achieved a manifest supremacy over the whole order of human life; and so was set up the great mediæval ideal of the Christian society.

It had two aspects or main fields of activity —the ecclesiastical and the civil, or, as we should say, Church and State; they were two activities of the one great society. Taken as a whole this single society received, as we know,

two interpretations. There was the Papalist interpretation, which represented the Pope as standing at the head of the whole, being God's sole vicegerent. From him the Emperor derived his authority, and the fact that the Pope crowned Charlemagne in St. Peter's at Rome on Christmas Day 800 was always taken as evidence of the Emperor's derivation of his authority from the Pope. Under the Pope on the ecclesiastical side were the Patriarchs, Metropolitans, bishops and clergy. Under the Emperor, held on the Papalist theory to derive his authority from the Pope, were the kings and all who held authority under them. Against that, the Imperialist theory held that the Emperor was supreme in the civil sphere, the Pope in the ecclesiastical, and that both of these held power jointly from God.

You will see that the conception of society is that of a pyramid rising from the common citizens through all the stages of the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies, either to the Pope alone as apex, or to the Pope and Emperor, holding power jointly from God, who is Himself the apex; and that conception of the pyramid absolutely dominated mediæval

thought about society, and is, of course, the figure of the feudal system. How completely it captured men's minds anyone can see who will get a copy of Hobbes' *Leviathan* and look at the frontispiece. Hobbes has indeed dispensed with Pope and Emperor; but the whole impulse behind his doctrine of the social contract is to assert the absolute supremacy of the monarch. The actual sovereign is supreme, and is represented as a gigantic man composed of little men, holding in one hand the pastoral staff, beneath which are ranged the symbols of ecclesiastical order, and in the other, a sword beneath which are ranged the representatives of civil order.

Anyone can see that it is in itself a noble conception; but the Church found itself under strong pressure—how strong it is very difficult for us now to estimate—to have recourse to secular methods for the maintaining of its spiritual authority. Originally the aim, however much it may have been tainted by human ambition, was a noble aim; but the method was never a deliberate adherence to the Gospel in its own power, and from the beginning the Church as represented by the

Papacy used the methods of force which are appropriate to the civil government for the maintenance of its spiritual principles.

This involved a variety of things. It involved, amongst others, that the Church must be put upon an exceedingly efficient financial basis; and as you pass from Innocent the Third, under whom it culminated, to Innocent the Fourth, under whom the degradation is first seen, you find the necessity for making the Church a thoroughly effective business concern plainly taking the place of the maintenance of its spiritual authority. All of that has been set out, for anyone who likes to read, in most attractive form by the late Master of Balliol, Mr. A. L. Smith, in his Ford lectures on *Church and State in the Middle Ages*.

The result was an acute secularisation of the Church. It still exercised its spiritual functions, but it had forfeited much of its spiritual authority because it did not put its trust in it, and was largely relying on the secular methods of force. Against that secularisation the Reformation was a protest; it was this protest which more than any other

one thing, brought the smouldering embers into real glow and fire. The Reformation was, as much as anything else, an effort to re-establish the genuinely spiritual character of the Church and of religion. But along with the Reformation there came another movement whose chief prophet had preceded the Reformation and who, though his name is seldom mentioned except with censure, and sometimes with more than censure, represents what has, in fact, become the accepted political doctrine of all nations—Machiavelli. What he represents in the history of the world is chiefly the emancipation of politics from the control of religion, for while in the Middle Ages there were many things done in the political world which Christianity could not justify, there was, until the decay was well established, no claim made that the political world stands outside the sphere of the Divine sovereignty or that politicians could be free from the obligation to apply the principles of Christianity in their politics. They may have conceived those principles somewhat differently from the way in which we conceive them now, but the supremacy of the Gospel

as a principle was, I believe, unchallenged through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

So you had two movements working side by side—one the Reformation with its strong insistence upon the purely spiritual character of religion, the other the Machiavellian movement with its claim that the State is an end in itself and that statesmen may do whatever in effect promotes the power and welfare of their State, having regard to moral principles only so far as such regard conduces to the strength of their State.

And as I am going to leave this aspect of the question let me remind you how very widely that is assumed. I remember quite well the discussion that I read in the newspapers which I greedily seized upon when I came back from a short visit to America after Easter in 1915 and was trying to pick up the threads of what was happening in the war. The nation of Italy was at that time debating its entry into the war, and many of our papers constantly asserted that the only thing the Italian Government had to consider was the interest of the Italian people. That was Machiavellian in principle; it was the denial

of God's sovereighty in national affairs. The first thing for statesmen to consider is the will of God for their nation. If their nation will not follow them, let it turn them out and put in someone else. What they have to consider and propose as the policy of their nation, if Christianity is true at all, is the will of God as revealed in Christ for their nation.

Now out of the situation which I have endeavoured rather rashly to describe there arose the various Reformation settlements. There was the sharp-cut Calvinist division between Church and State, and it is interesting to note that the Calvinist and the Jesuit doctrine, upon this point are virtually identical. Both make a quite sharp division. The State is concerned with nothing except, so to speak, police work. It is concerned with the maintenance of rights of property and the like, and it has no really spiritual function at all. It is not concerned with the good life, but only with the maintenance of life itself. The Church monopolises the moral and spiritual side. We know what resulted from that. It was in a way a reproduction of what had happened to the Hildebrandine Church :

because the Church had tried to despiritualise the State it found itself involved, over and over again, in adopting the methods of the State itself, and you get the Puritan effort to impose morality by force.

The Lutheran settlement worked out at last in that curious principle adopted at Augsburg in 1555—*Cuius regio, eius religio*—whose is the country, his is the religion. To a degree certainly never contemplated by Luther, Luther's method subjected the Church to the actual civil powers, and his own attitude during the Peasants' War was one of the main causes of the division which even then began and steadily spread between the peasantry of Germany and the Lutheran Church. In England, as we know, we acted on no particular and definite principle: we very seldom do. We did the thing which it seemed upon the whole most convenient to do under all the circumstances of the moment; but, in fact, we made the assumption common to the whole of the Middle Ages, and lying behind that astounding principle of Augsburg, that only one religion can be tolerated in a country, that there is one society—the nation—with

its civic and ecclesiastical aspects. All citizens, therefore, were Churchmen and any assembly which represented the citizens represented Churchmen; consequently power could be entrusted in ecclesiastical matters to Parliament, which was for that purpose exactly what the House of Laity is in our own Church Assembly: it was an assembly of Churchmen representing Churchmen. Nobody else could either sit in it or vote for it, and there was at least something appropriate in such a body having the last word in determining the controversies of the Church.

So then, and through the coming of the principle of Toleration—a principle rejected by almost all thinkers both of the Middle Ages and of the Reformation period, but forced upon mankind by the pressure of circumstances—we have come back to the need for a new differentiation of functions as between Church and State, and my last section shall be an attempt to give an outline of that differentiation as I understand it.

First we shall affirm the Divine authority of the State, not meaning by that, as some have meant, that whatever the existing

Government may command must always be obeyed, but that in truth the State has the authority of God in its own sphere for the discharge of certain functions. Nor are those functions merely limited to the maintenance of life and property. The doctrine of Aristotle is still true: the State which came into existence to maintain life continues in existence to maintain the good life. But its method of inducing the good life is the educative method of restraining those impulses which would destroy the good life; and we must remember that the law is operative far more widely than only upon those who come into law-courts. Every time that a man is honest because he would be punished if he were dishonest, the law has kept him honest; it is not only prisoners in the dock who are affected in their conduct by the law. We think of the function of the law quite wrongly if we think it always from the point of view of a lawyer who is dealing with a case before the courts: it is at work in every moment of our lives.

The law is, in fact, perpetually at work upon our characters, but it is mainly in the way of

holding in check desires that would wreck the purpose of the community, and our own purpose so far as we are good citizens. Moreover, in a developed state, and especially in a democracy, the whole meaning of legislation is that a law is a corporate good resolution. The meaning of the law which says that murderers shall be hanged, is not that each of us says, "I will that anyone else who commits a murder may be hanged," but, "I will that if ever I commit a murder I may be hanged"; and all the law-court does is to bring into operation against the individual what the common will has already agreed upon.

The sphere of the Church, on the other hand, is not to redress by penalties what has been wrongly done, but to call out by appeal those elements of generosity, devotion and self-sacrifice which are in every man, but which may perhaps have no opportunity of expressing themselves in his life if the lower elements are not controlled, and which in any case need to be evoked by something that goes nearer to the heart than can any edicts of the civil State. The purpose of the Gospel and the purpose of the law are the same, but law alone can never

achieve the purpose. Perhaps the Gospel alone cannot achieve it, for the Gospel fulfils the law and does not destroy it. It brings to accomplishment that purpose for which the law was either given or made. But if that is the purpose of the Church and its place, then we need to begin—gradually perhaps, but we need to begin—to disentangle the Church in some respects from the State; and there arise questions where it is necessary that the individual should carefully consider whether he is acting as a Churchman or as a Christian citizen; for in a nation of which all the citizens do not all belong to one Church, or indeed to the Christian Church at all, this may not be the same thing. For example, it may be right that there should be a different law of marriage imposed under penalties by the State from that which is upheld as alone ideal by the Church. The fact that we are quite clear what is the ideal does not of itself settle the question whether we ought to impose any legal penalty for falling short of it upon those who have not the same means of Grace as Churchmen have, and may not even accept the Church's ideal. I do not say that it is so.

It may turn out that the State should enforce what the Church upholds; but the fact that the Church upholds it is not of itself a sufficient reason for saying that the State should enforce it. I should most strongly favour a complete separation of the civil aspects from the religious aspects of marriage by requiring that all marriages should be authorised under the State by some civic ceremony, and only subsequently solemnised in the Church in the case of those people who mean by marriage what the Church means by it. I believe that, though there would be some loss, no doubt, from the removal of the influence that we can now exert upon those who come to Church for such occasions, and for such occasions only, such a policy would nevertheless tend to a clarification of conscience that would be an incalculable gain.

Or, once more, there is the question, now in abeyance, of Church Disestablishment. If the general line of argument that I have adopted be sound, it would follow that the question is one in which the Church need take no interest at all. It is a question for the State only. No doubt the question of Dis-

endowment concerns the Church, because it involves the means by which we have to do the work entrusted to us; but the question whether there shall be an Established Church in any country is a question for the citizens, including, of course, the Christian citizens, not for the Church as such. Here is the Church, a Divine creation commissioned to discharge the responsibility which belongs to the Body of Christ Himself. Plainly it is of little concern to that Divine Church whether any earthly State cares to associate itself with it or not; but for the State it is a question of great moment; and the real meaning of Establishment is not that the Church is in any way supported by the State, but that the State, by associating itself with the Divine Society, proclaims its own recognition that it has both a Divine commission and also a Divine allegiance. That must be the real meaning of Establishment. The religious movement and the general movement of culture and civilisation must be regarded as co-partners in one enterprise, which is the bringing of mankind to that perfection of individual and social life which is obedience

to the will of God. Effectiveness in this must depend upon each doing its own part fully, whilst also leaving the other untrammelled to do its own part as fully.

One great contribution the Church has steadily made to the advancement of general civilisation. Liberty, as we understand the word in modern Europe, is a product of the Church's insistence upon the right to live its own individual life whatever the State may say. That has been worked out, not only by such notoriously Christian historians as Lord Acton and Dr. Figgis, but also by Mr. Harold Laski in our own time. There has been no force contributed to liberty, as we understand it, so great as the determination of religious bodies to be free to live their own life. States have attempted to suppress that determination, but they have nearly always failed.

Our outlook enables us to conceive human history as one great movement, guided by one God, Creator and Redeemer, moving onwards by the processes which arise out of human nature itself and representing the working of God immanent in it, moving onwards also under the impact of the Divine act of the

Incarnation, where God, who is sovereign over the whole process, Himself entered into it, so calling forth a self-dedication in mankind, which otherwise would have been impossible. In a Church taking its part in that great movement of mankind, which is the supreme concern not only for the individual soul but for the nations of the world and for the human race, we are called to exercise our Ministry. "I beseech you, therefore, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye were called, with all lowliness."

V

THE CHURCH AND DEMOCRACY

[*Delivered to the Clergy of the Rural Deaneries of Preston, Leyland, Garstang and the Fylde in Preston Parish Church on July* 14, 1924.]

THE particular subject which falls to our consideration to-day in the series that I have planned is the relation of the Church to that whole movement in the history of the world which for us goes by the name of Democracy. That movement was, in its earlier stages, called the Revolution—a word which did not at one time refer directly to any particular upheaval, but rather to a general change in the sense of what constituted the foundations of society and consequently a new interpretation of what were the fundamental principles on which social life is built.

Democracy, which has very many forms, to some of which I must refer later, rests on concern for individual personality. Its real inspiration is always to be found in the belief

that every personality is sacred and should have full liberty for the realisation of its capacities and the expression of its gifts. In a society where social classes are sharply severed from one another, as, in the extreme instance, under the caste system of India, that cannot come to pass. It has been historically the sense of the dignity of every individual which has mainly contributed to the impulse towards democracy, political and social.

Democracy so regarded is a definitely Christian product. There was a so-called democracy in the ancient world, but it was not what we mean by democracy, because it only admitted to citizenship and to the responsibility of government a small section of the community resident within the area to be governed, and to a very large extent, though not entirely as is sometimes said, the more laborious kinds of work were performed by slaves. A society which still maintains slavery is not a democracy in our sense of the word, and the so-called democracy of ancient Athens is from the point of view of the modern world a somewhat narrow and very exclusive aristocracy.

Democracy, then, as we know it, is histori-

cally a Christian product. You do not find it anywhere in the world except where Christianity has exerted its influence. But not only is it a Christian product as a matter of fact, but it is a necessary result of Christianity in the long run as a matter of principle, because it is Christianity that discovered the real meaning of personality; or, to speak more correctly, it was in and through Christianity that the real meaning of personality was revealed. There is no word for personality in Greek or in Latin; the ancients had no need of the word because they so seldom entertained the thought. There is the word "persona"; but even that only came gradually by convention to represent what we mean by a person. Its first meaning was that which it still bears in the pages of Shakespeare's works, for instance, where at the head of the list of characters you see the words "dramatis personæ." A "persona" was a part played by a person, rather than the person who played the part. It was through the revelation of what the life of the spirit is in the activity of God towards men, in the relationship of men to God, and, under that, of men to one another,

that the conception of personality grew up.[1] It is a Christian product, and wherever you find a movement which bases itself on respect for personality, there, even though the adherents of that movement may disclaim all connection with Christianity, and even deny the truth of all religion, you have a product of Christian influence.

Democracy in this sense is then both historically and in principle a Christian product. It does not, of course, in the least follow from this that a society which is to do justice to all individual citizens should be organised in precisely this way or in precisely that way. There remains the question, and perhaps it is a permanently open question, what is the best way of achieving the true ideal which lies at the root of the democratic movement. The ideal is a true one which Christians must always respect; but when we consider the relationship of the Church to the actual democratic movement, we are bound to distinguish some of the forms which that movement has taken. This is suggested to us, perhaps, most vividly by the threefold watchword of the French

[1] Cf. C. J. Webb, *God and Personality*.

Revolution—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. With Fraternity we are not at the moment concerned, but it is plainly true that any society which denies the root principle of democracy, which denies the inherent sacredness of every personality, can never give rise to real brotherhood and widespread fellowship. A society which denies that principle is sure to be a society divided into classes so sharply separated as to approximate to the Indian castes.

But in the French Revolution the first two aspects of the democratic ideal were in sharp conflict; in fact it appears to be the case that great emphasis on Liberty will always put Equality in the shade, and great emphasis on Equality will always make Liberty impossible. For men are born with different capacities and different gifts, and if you insist upon the principle that everyone must be free to develop his own life, the result will be an emphasis on Liberty, but there will be no Equality; whereas if you begin with an insistence that all are to be counted alike, however different their gifts and powers, then of necessity you will put great restraint upon many of the citizens and possibly on all.

The main conflict within the revolutionary forces in the years from 1789 to the establishment of Napoleon's ascendency was the conflict between Equality and Liberty, in which, in the earlier and more famous chapters of the story, Equality was easily the victor. There have been few societies less free than was France under Robespierre, and there has never been a society, except perhaps Russia at the present day, in which the dogma of Equality was so rigorously applied.

Looking back we can boldly say that this kind of emphasis on Equality was a sheer blunder; the Equality that is precious is not equality of powers or of gifts, which does not exist, nor an equality of influence or of authority; it is equality of inherent worth and of the right of every individual to be himself; but that is something quite different from maintaining that each individual in being himself is to exercise functions interchangeable with another individual who is also a being himself. It is perfectly compatible with Equality rightly understood that some should command and some should obey, and all that we need to purge such a view of all that may

make it embittering is to recognise that to obey is quite as noble as to command. The one true form of Equality politically is equality of opportunity. That this form of Equality should be established is an indispensable condition of social justice, and for this reason we ought to do all in our power to provide equal educational facilities for all classes in the community.

It is true that faith in the sacredness of each individual in his own personality has had to struggle against forms of society which mainly come down to us from the pre-Christian time and which have denied the right of many citizens to the full expression of their personality; and therefore it is commonly found that the democratic movement is a rebellion against privilege and an insistence upon a purely individual freedom. But when it has concentrated upon this, while it has been, as a rule, justified in the main, it has often been blind to the fact that unrestricted freedom may result in tyrannies of an unexpected kind.

The early nineteenth century believed whole-heartedly in the merits of unfettered

competition. That was, for them, the expression of complete freedom. Every individual, and, of course, also every group, was to be free to struggle for itself. So individuals and groups would find their own places in the social system—the place that belonged to them according to their merits or their capacities. But the competition itself became a tyrannising power and men were no longer free to do the thing they desired to do, or believed in their conscience that they ought to do, because the ruthless competition of their neighbours might stamp them out if they did. There may be no more actual freedom of choice in an unregulated society than in a society where nearly every detail of life is regulated; and so the old individualist idea of liberty has given place to the collectivist, and men now think of freedom, not so much as an absence of restraint upon them, but rather as a right to a voice in making the laws which they are afterwards to obey; and this is, no doubt, much nearer to the true etymological meaning of the word democracy, which means the power not of individuals but of the people as a whole. The extension of democracy in this sense to

the control of industry is the main, and in my view the perfectly just, demand of the Labour Movement of our time.

But here there is another danger waiting for us. It is the danger that mere majorities will become as tyrannous as either a privileged class had ever been in the days before the democratic principle established itself, or as unfettered competition may be when you leave every one to pursue his own way unchecked by State regulation. A strange self-contradiction dogs the democratic movement unless it is based on spiritual principles. It begins with a respect for individual personality in all citizens. It inevitably expresses this through government by majorities—not because the majority is most likely to be right (which it is not), but because this is the only way to recognise the individual personality of all citizens politically. But the majority is tempted to forget the principle which alone justifies its possession of power, and to trample on minorities and on all dissentient individuals. The attitude of a Trade Union meeting towards those members who dissent from the popular policy is seldom tolerant. The rigid

dogmatism in Economics which one section of the Labour Movement wishes to impose on all working-class education is directly and avowedly hostile to freedom of thought on the part of individuals. In such aberrations we see democracy defeating itself for lack of sure grasp of its own spiritual principles. In fact it comes to this: The rule of force, whether applied by Napoleon, or Lenin, or Mussolini, or Trade Union, or Capitalistic Government, is always an evil. Government must have force at its disposal to protect freedom; but it must not rest on force, for that is the negation of freedom; and the goal of all true politics is freedom secured by a unity or order which itself is freely willed.

There is, in fact, only one safe course for democracy, and that is that it should recognise its source in Christianity and allow Christian principle at all points to govern it. This will, of course, involve a great tenderness towards anything that can fairly be represented as a point of conscience. We laugh sometimes, and I think quite reasonably laugh, at the number of things to which in these days men may take "conscientious objection." Some of them are

things about which, on any reasonable definition of conscience, it would appear impossible that that faculty should exercise itself. None the less, a great tenderness to what may appear to any citizen to be a matter of conscience is a mark of wholesomeness at least in a democracy, for it is the recognition that the real meaning of society is to be found in the true spiritual freedom of the citizens. If we keep steadily in view the fact that citizens are children of God, who owe an allegiance certainly to their country, but who can never make that allegiance either absolute or primary because there is a higher authority, namely God Himself, to whom, in the last resort, and to whom alone, their complete submission is due, then democracy will find the proper check which will save it from ever becoming such a mere tyranny of majorities as it was in the worst days of the French Revolution. Democracy, in fact, must be regarded as merely the outward form, within which the spirit of the Christian religion may most effectively work in the hearts of men; and as the battle of democracy is, broadly speaking, won in the political field, it seems to me that the great question for our

age is the question whether we consider that the people has a right to do anything that it wants to do, as it has the power, or whether we are to call upon the people to recognise a higher authority than its own—the authority of God and Christ. The moment that this is done there will be respect shown, even by the most ardent and convinced majority, for the conscientious objections of the few; but—more than this—it will be realised that leadership in earthly as in heavenly citizenship goes with self-sacrifice, for indeed it is by the self-sacrifice of its citizens that a nation or state becomes either great or noble.

Now, historically, democracy has gone side by side with another great movement which has been characteristic of the nineteenth century, and about which I hope to speak in the next section of this Charge. It has gone hand in hand with Nationalism; and one of the perils of the whole democratic movement is that we shall turn out the Machiavellian Prince to establish a still more dangerous tyrant in the form of a majority acting on Machiavellian principles. If the State is to be omnipotent not only in political but in moral authority also,

always having the right to order whatever it chooses to order, then there will be great danger that progress will be checked (because new ideas will be unwelcome to such authority), and also that to many people the avenues of life will seem to be closed up through wholesale regimentation. On our principles there is need for movement in the direction of collective action, but we must take care that the collective action does not become a tyranny. It is through its association with nationalism, through the sense that every nation may be a law unto itself, that democracy has found its most insidious temptation.

That association was in itself inevitable. By the Revolution, loyalty was transferred from the throne to "the people"; but there was bound to be some definition of "the people" to whom it was due; for loyalty to mankind is not a practical principle. Hence the people came to be those who had formerly been subjects of the abolished monarchy; these made the "nation," and nine times out of ten it was their common loyalty to one throne that had ever made a nation of them. But while as an object of loyalty the nation was first and

foremost a substitute for the throne, nothing could prevent loyalty to it intensifying the sense of the nation's individuality in distinction from other nations. This explains the curious alliance of Liberalism and Nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe, which sometimes puzzles Englishmen who forget that we had two Revolutions before France had one, and that under William III and Anne the Whigs were the "Jingoes" and Tories the "Little Englanders." But while the association of democracy in its first stages with nationalism was inevitable, it was none the less full of perils.

I turn now from the broad principles which seem to be relevant to the problem of democracy in the State to a consideration of the democratic movement in the Church. Democracy regarded as primarily an insistence on individual worth and the right of every individual, therefore, to the career which really does justice to his talents, has always been maintained and largely provided by the Church. We often remind ourselves that it was the Church which for many centuries gave education to the children of the poorer citizens when

the State took no interest in the matter whatever. The Church provided at least many of them with the means of cultivating their faculties and rising from very low to very high positions in the world. The Church itself, through its educational system, provided a means whereby the child of any peasant might be exalted above all the kings of the earth if he should be elected to occupy St. Peter's throne; and in the Middle Ages, for all that there was a feudal system, the Church by its organisation provided a standing witness of a higher order, and there were not a few children of the peasantry who became Popes. But this career open to talent is by no means the hallmark of democracy. It is compatible with a certain quite narrow form of artistocracy. You may have, and in China they did have until quite lately, a system through which educational tests led to very high rank, and this was open to very few. There might be a career open to talent, and those who could pass the tests would become the princes and the dukes, but it might be quite a narrow form of aristocracy. If democracy is to be really thorough in the Church or in the State, it must

mean that every individual has the opportunity of contributing his real power to the life of the body and to the direction of its activities.

Is the Church itself ideally a democracy? No; the Church is unalterably a monarchy, and its King is Christ. In the democracy of the State we must recognise at least the political right, where I have just denied the moral right, of the majority to settle things as they please; but there is no right for members of the Church to settle things ecclesiastic as they please. Their duty at all times is to settle things according to the will of Christ, and to that alone may they refer.

What, then, is the movement towards what is often called the democratising of the Church, such a movement as we have lately had in the Church of England, and which is more and more becoming established by means of our Assembly and Councils and the rest? The inner meaning of it surely is this: that all members of the Body of Christ are channels of His Spirit and we cannot limit the operation and activity of the Holy Spirit to one part of the Church, or exclude from it any sincere believer. It may be that the message of God to

His people at any time will come through some obscure and unofficial member of the Church, and that obscure and unofficial member of the Church should have the constitutional means of placing before his fellow-members what God has revealed to him. When he has done that he has discharged his responsibility, and it is for his fellow-members to recognise and discern the message. We cannot say it is only through bishops or clergy or selected individuals whom we choose because we know they will be easy colleagues with whom we can co-operate, that the Holy Spirit can speak. He may speak anywhere, through any member of the Church, and we need to have such a form of organisation as will give an opportunity for any member to whom such a message comes to bring it before the Church in a constitutional manner. Now, defective as they must be, representative assemblies are means by which that can be done, for even though the churchman of whom we are thinking may not be himself a member of one, he can take part in the election of a member. He can try to secure that there shall be a candidate who believes what has been committed to him, and he can try to

persuade others to vote for that candidate; but all of this must be done genuinely and utterly in obedience to the Spirit, and not in support of personal prejudices.

And while this is true about the whole membership of the Church, it does not in any way derogate from the ministry as alone commissioned to administer the Sacraments and teach the Church's doctrine. At the present time it seems to me of really vital importance that, while we recognise the right of the Laity to a representative place in the government of the Church, we should safeguard with the utmost care the power and responsibility of the ordained and commissioned ministry. There may be men in our congregations as well able to teach the Christian faith as we ourselves. There may be some even of better qualification. But that is matter of chance. They have not been tested or commissioned, and it must be steadily borne in mind that the Church to which we belong is in the full sense an apostolic Church—that is to say, a Church gathered about Apostles, first the Apostles of the Lord Himself, and then, through them, about those who have received the commission

to carry on in their own respective sphere the work which belonged to the Apostles themselves. Wherever any activity of a Parochial Church Council trenches upon the teaching ministry, I should wish to uphold the authority of the minister so far at least as I am able. He must be free in his teaching and in his guidance of parochial activities, because if he is to sanction out of consideration for feelings which exist among his people practices of which in his conscience he disapproves, then his spiritual freedom is paralysed, and he no longer has liberty in declaring the will of God as he has come to understand it.

The purpose for which Parochial Church Councils were set up was not to enable the Laity to assume such control of the minister as is reported to be exercised in some Denominations, but to enable them to give a fuller service and a greater contribution of effective work. It is only for service that any Christian can rightly desire "powers." Certainly it is desirable that the Incumbent should do all he can to co-operate with the Council, just as the Council's duty, as defined by law, is to co-operate with him. A one-sided co-operation is, in the long

run, impossible. It is most important that the Incumbent should recognise the legal rights of the Council to the full; it is equally important that the Council should recognise the spiritual leadership of the Incumbent and avoid infringement of it. The Incumbent has the Cure of Souls and the Council has not. While he should be eager to work with the Council, nothing ought to be carried on as a parochial activity in antagonism to his expressed conviction or desire.

We are all fallible. Not only may we make mistakes, but we certainly shall. We should try to be very humble in the exercise of our authority as ministers of Christ. Nevertheless, we must be firm in our principles, and where our office is concerned we must allow no usurpation of it by those who have not received the same commission as ourselves.

You will see how all this applies in relation to the new machinery for the direction of Church affairs which has lately been set up. May I remind you, for example, how the matter of Prayer Book Revision has to be dealt with before anything can be legalised in the full sense? The matter is being debated in the

House of Laity and the House of Clergy sitting separately. When that is concluded I imagine, though this is not necessary, that they will confer together. When they have compiled their result, it will be laid before the House of Bishops. The House of Bishops will then give to the proposals the form which seems to them, having in their recollection the discussion in the other Houses, to be best. Then the matter goes to the Convocations, which are representative assemblies of the ordained and commissioned ministry only, and if they give their consent, the Bishops will lay the measure, in the shape which they have given to it, before the Assembly, which must then either accept or reject it, but can no longer amend it.

Now that seems to me to embody at all points the principle I have been describing. The Laity are asked to make their contributions, and at the end they may refuse what has been proposed, and then we shall go on as before. But in the last resort the matter must be proposed by the House of Bishops and be accepted or rejected as they propose it: their proposition cannot be amended, and

further, before they make their proposition they will consult the clergy as represented in the Convocations, which are, of course, composed of the same people as those who make up the House of Clergy in the Assembly, but who will be sitting in their capacity as members of the ancient synods of the Church, before anything can be done.

Only by that process is the authority of the Church going to be given to any changes. After that it comes before Parliament to decide whether the State also will give the authority which it exercises in its own sphere.

The attempt was certainly made to embody the same principles in the Parochial Church Councils Measure. There, unavoidably, more difficulties arose because of the multifarious nature of the questions which arise in the actual working of the Church in the Parish; but the aim has always been that the Laity should indeed have a true and genuine opportunity of taking part not only in the material but also in the spiritual work of the Church; but the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments remains absolutely and

unrestrictedly in the hands of the ordained and commissioned ministry.

It is clear that the Church, in thus insisting that those who have been tested in sound Christian doctrine should have the leadership, is pointing to that same principle which I have declared to be, in my judgment, indispensable for the wholesomeness of democracy in all its forms. If democracy mainly rests upon the claim of the people to exercise their own power and to secure for themselves their own rights, it will be just as vicious, and just as tyrannous, as any other form of government can be. Broadly speaking, you may put it this way; if people are mainly concerned about securing their rights, you will have a society which consists of a number of selfish and competing interests, where the stronger will prevail and the weaker will go to the wall; but if you can secure a society where the people are mainly concerned about their duties, then everyone will have his rights, because if we are all doing our duty, that means that we are recognising our neighbour's rights. Rights and duties, broadly speaking, are correlative terms; it is your duty to respect my rights, it is my

duty to respect your rights. It might therefore be supposed that for all to be concerned with their rights and for all to be concerned with their duties would have much the same result. But in fact we seldom agree on the question what our rights actually are, and the mental habit of insisting on them always leads to an exaggeration of them. When all are really concerned with duties, a wholly different atmosphere is created, and democracy will become a means, not of bitter competition and rivalry of sections, but of a wider fellowship and a truer brotherhood than can be achieved by any other means.

Democracy, as I see the matter, can be the ideal form of government; but here, as often, *corruptio optimi pessima*—the corruption of the best is the worst of all; and if democracy be irreligious it can, I think, be a more horrible form of tyranny than can ever be established by despots or nobility, if only for the reason that you can kill off the despots or the nobility but you cannot kill "the people." Therefore we have, in an age when democracy has established itself, a very peculiar and special responsibility; and if I were asked if there

were one task which more than any other could be said to be the task of the Church to-day in relation to the political life of mankind, I should say it is this : to spiritualise democracy.

VI

THE CHURCH AND WORLD-POLITICS

[*Delivered to the Clergy of the Rural Deaneries of Blackburn, Whalley and Accrington in Blackburn Parish Church on July* 17, 1924.]

In the former parts of this Charge I have been speaking of the work of the Church as that comes before our minds when we think of the Church as a society filled with the very life of God Himself, that is, the life of perfect love, in order that it may bind men together in a fellowship of love which may both express and answer the love of God who is the Creator of men and their Redeemer. I have spoken of this in relation to different aspects of life, and to-day the subject which falls to be considered is the relation of the Church to world-politics.

The characteristic feature of world-politics in our time is the predominance of what is called Nationalism. That has become so conspicuous a feature of the life of the world in our day that most of us take it for granted,

and suppose that it was always as dominant as it is now; but that is not so. It is quite true that there was always a local loyalty, which had about it the promise of what has developed into nationalism; but nationalism as we know it, the belief in peoples marked off by discoverable frontiers, and having some common quality or type of life, and expressing that life through a State which is absolutely sovereign, is a comparatively new feature in the organisation of the affairs of men; in fact it is closely connected with the rise of democracy, about which I spoke more particularly in the last section of this Charge. For as loyalty began to be to some extent transferred from the Monarch to the People, and though still offered to monarchs was offered to them as the representatives and embodiments of a national life, it became almost necessary that some area should be marked off within which this loyalty to the People was effective.

It is not, in fact, possible to be loyal in any practical way to the human race. There is, as a rule, no practical means of serving the human race except by serving some section

of it; and while we ought, no doubt, here as always, to let our wider loyalty check the narrower, and never seek to promote the interest of our country when that has to be purchased at a general loss to mankind, yet it is certainly true that if we are to serve mankind actually it must be by serving some unit less than mankind at large, and in practice this must be our own nation.

It was largely for this reason that democracy and nationalism went so closely together. In the early eighteenth century nobody would have assented to what has become almost an accepted dogma, that every State should be the organ of a people of one type expressing and conducting one manner of life. We have come to regard it as a serious problem, and almost certainly an evil, that two races which have not been fused together should both be subjects of one State. The problems of south-eastern Europe very largely arise from the fact that races with different traditions are inhabiting the same areas, and they are so much mixed up that in fact it is not possible to separate them out and make up homogeneous States. It is very much open to

question whether, in fact, this racial unity of every State is altogether a boon. Certainly it tends to promote rivalry, and through rivalry antagonism, between the racial States that are so constituted, whereas in the older organisation of society, which had indeed very many faults, but where people of different races and different traditions were held together in one State by their owing allegiance to one monarch or dynasty, there was much less to set nation against nation. The wars of the earlier periods of European history mainly arose from dynastic ambitions, and therefore left behind them far less bitterness to heal in the years that followed, than our wars, which are wars of antipathetic peoples.

Now all of this was prepared for by what had gone before the rise of either nationalism or democracy, the proclamation of the absolute sovereignty of the national State. That, again, is something which we have been taking for granted; but it was not always taken for granted. As civilisation grew up, the first society in which Christianity exercised any really potent influence was a society in which there was no sharp division of secular and

sacred, civic and ecclesiastic, and it was a society in which, at least in admitted theory, all Christian nations were united together.

The mediæval theory appeared in two forms, but they both had one characteristic; there was the Imperialist interpretation and the Papalist interpretation, but the only difference between them is that whereas the Imperialist held that the Emperor and the Pope stand on a level and jointly hold their authority from God—Kings holding theirs from the Emperor, Bishops and other Ministers theirs from the Pope—the Papalist theory maintained that the Pope was himself for all purposes God's vicegerent on earth and that the Emperor held his authority from the Pope. Both these theories agree that all authority is of God, that there can be no authority except from God, and that He who gives the authority also limits its sphere of operation and determines its scope. Consequently the older doctrine of Divine Right not only maintained the right of the Sovereign to command and the duty of the subject to obey, but also determined the limits within which that right and that duty existed; the older theory of Divine

Right was for this reason a form of limitation upon the claims of Governments and of Kings. The greatest of the mediæval teachers have no doubt whatever that the king who governs tyrannically may rightly be deposed, precisely because he has forfeited his Divine Right by neglecting his divinely appointed duty.[1] The cause which, more than any other, led to the break-up of this view of society was, as I imagine, the fact that the Church endeavoured to maintain its authority in the world by methods which are appropriate only to the State, whereas it exists to appeal to the spiritual side of men's nature, while the State exists to regulate their material affairs, and to check those passions which are destructive of society. The Church forsook its proper methods and tried to maintain its spiritual authority by political means. That is the root of the failure of the Mediæval Church, and it led to an acute secularisation of the Church. The authorities at Rome came to be more concerned, even when they were honourable, with the efficiency of the institution than with

[1] Cf. S. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Pt. II. 2, Q. 42, A. 2.

the promotion of spiritual life; and when they were not honourable, an almost infinite degradation became possible. Thus in the reign of Innocent III there was already free recourse to the use of armed forces in the name of the Pope; but when you come to Julius II you find him mainly occupied in trying to establish the Papacy as the most influential of Italian principalities, waging wars to that end, himself as Pope riding in armour at the head of his troops. What wonder that just about this time there appeared the theory upon which men were already acting, although they had not yet given full rein to its impulse because the old beliefs to some extent still held them in check.

Machiavelli, who took for his hero Cæsar Borgia, a Pope's son who acted in the Pope's name, produces a picture of the totally non-moral ruler, who will consider moral principles just so far as they are advantageous to his statecraft. He will not usually outrage men's consciences because to do so is poor policy, but when it is good policy he will not hesitate. The State for Machiavelli has become its own supreme end; and while one writer after

another from that day to this has denounced Machiavelli, including the most Machiavellian of modern rulers, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Machiavelli has, broadly speaking, ruled the political world from his own time till now. It came to be accepted as even a a platitude, that the nation has nothing but its own welfare to consider, that the nation is the final end for itself, with nothing beyond or above it which it might serve or for which it could exercise self-sacrifice; and the Government—the secular Government—so exalted naturally came to take charge of the spiritual interests of the citizens. You find, again, two names representing men singularly different in their outlook upon life who agree in this, to us, astonishing doctrine—Luther and Hobbes. Luther, we should remember, put the whole of the regulation of religion into the hands of the secular Government; it might be a King or a Grand Duke, or any other form of Government, but whatever the Government decided to be the religion of a people, that their religion was to be: "*Cuius regio, eius religio*"; that is the principle on which the Lutheran peace of the Church was ultimately based in what is

called the Peace of Augsburg. Hobbes does just the same. Both of them make the secular authority supreme.

Out of that emerged the form of Divine Right which became historical in England because of its exploitation by the Stuarts; but it was something quite different from what the Divine Right of earlier times had been. It was no longer the assertion that beyond the King there is God, who has given to the King his authority and has also set the limits of that authority; but the King, who represents the State, is now absolute and there is nothing above him for him to serve except as a private person; of course he has his own duties to God, but as King he has no duty to anything beyond himself, nor is there any limit to be set to the exercise of his authority nor any sphere in which obedience must not be rendered to it. That is what Divine Right came to mean under the Stuart dynasty, and we know that for a long time the Church of England lent itself to this until James II made it impossible, and with the imprisonment and acquittal of the Seven Bishops that particular doctrine came to an end.

Now it is out of such notions as these that Europe found its way through democracy, and the nationalism which accompanied democracy, to the summer of 1914; nor can I conceive it possible that we should avoid repetitions of the conflict which then broke out unless we can persuade men once again that there exists something wider and higher than the national State which the national State itself exists to serve. There is only one claimant for the homage of a nation. It is the Kingdom of God.

What is the function of the Church in relation to such a situation as I have tried to describe? The Church is concerned with moral and spiritual issues. What has been the course of moral progress? It has consisted in the steady widening of the area in which moral obligation is recognised as holding good. In primitive society men recognise no moral obligations to those of another section. Blood-relationship both prescribes and sets the limit of all sense of obligation whatsoever. As men emerge from that and there comes to be a tribal loyalty, the same principle holds good, and in the most primitive tribes there is

no sense of obligation to those outside the tribe. Plato requires in one place as a step in progress that Greeks should come to treat all other Greeks as fellow-citizens and to treat men of other nations in the way in which they now treat Greeks of other States :—Let the Athenian regard the Spartan as his own fellow-citizen and treat the Persian as he now treats the Spartan. Now that indicates the way in which progress has come :—the steady widening of the area within which obligation is recognised as holding good.

If we find something established as a law of progress we shall know that that is an expression of the mind of God, who has more fully revealed Himself to us in Christ and through the Spirit; and therefore we shall expect to find that the Church's business is to bring to completion what we already find to be going on, just as the Gospel came not to destroy but to complete the Law. So one of the things that we ought to help forward as far as we may is this widening of the area of moral obligation in the consciences of ourselves and those to whom we speak. No doubt in our time some degree of this obligation is

recognised as always and everywhere holding good. No Englishman would say that he was free to treat a man of any other race exactly as he pleases; no Englishman is free to take the life of a negro, for example, at his pleasure. But there is not yet recognised among our fellow-citizens any real equality in the matter of obligation. Men do not feel that they owe the same kind of obligation to those of other nations or of other colour that they owe to their fellow-citizens. I, as an Englishman, owe no allegiance to any foreign State, but only to my own; but I as an individual human being owe all the ordinary moral obligations to the individual men of other races, whatever their colour, whatever their degree of development, with whom I may be brought in contact; and one great agency for bringing this home to men's minds is the Church's missionary work. It is very significant that the most thorough and scientific study which we have had of the Race Problem comes to us from a man whose whole concern in life is the evangelisation of the world. Mr. J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the British Conference of Missionary Societies, has issued

a book on *Christianity and the Race Problem* which I have not the least doubt will be for a long time the classic on this subject.

In the world where this law of progress is to be seen is placed the Church, of which it is the essential and primary duty that it should bind men together in the love of God, so transcending all the natural divisions between them; and we have to find ways increasingly of really making that aim effective. There have been some things tolerated in the Christian Church which set the other way. There are parts of the Christian Church, for example, where the coloured person is not allowed to come and worship with the white congregation. That will not do. The Church cannot tolerate that kind of division in its own life. We whose work is in England have to find ways of making our Church life really effective in bridging the divisions which circumstances create between our fellow-citizens at home; and to a great extent the Church, as a matter of fact, is already doing this; everything which we can devise that tends in that direction, forwards the fulfilment of the will of God; and we shall also try to cultivate that temper

of mind which desires the fullest possible fellowship with other nations.

I cannot doubt that it is a plain duty of Christian people at this time to be doing everything in their power to support the League of Nations and the League of Nations Union. Here is a way, and the only way commended to us by the statesmen of the time, for expressing the sense of common interest among the nations of the world. We must do everything we can to lay emphasis on that. It is not itself a Christian organisation, because it is not a specifically religious organisation at all; but it is quite plainly in the line of Christian development, and we ought, I think, to be doing much more than, on the whole, we are doing to make the appeal of that Union effective to the consciences of our fellow-citizens.

So we come to the direct question of the duty of the Church in relation to these international problems; and first the duty in time of peace. There is an often-quoted Latin epigram: *Si vis pacem, para bellum.* It was said in Latin, the language of the Roman Empire. It was said concerning the policy

of a great and established imperial power in relation to frontier tribes who were liable to attack it; and it meant that if only Rome kept her armies on the frontier strong enough, the attack would never be made. It must not be applied light-heartedly to the relations between nations which regard themselves as more or less on an equality. It might, or might not, hold good there. The fact that it was true concerning the Roman Empire in relation to the German barbarians of that age proves nothing for our age; and if experience gives any guide, I should be inclined to say that following this maxim has the result of making wars less frequent, but more deadly when they come. Whether the result is gain or not seems impossible to determine.

I have no doubt that by the strength of armaments many little conflicts have been staved off. We all know that the scale of armaments has made war quite peculiarly deadly when it comes. I will venture on what is partly a truism, but is become also partly a paradox: *Si vis pacem, para pacem:* "If you want peace, prepare for peace." Peace does not come naturally. In the history of the

world the intervals of peace are not very long. War itself is "natural," if by natural you mean what tends to develop of itself. War is natural: peace abnormal. War is the fruit of nature; peace can only come by grace; and we ought to be doing our utmost to create the temper of mind in which men value peace, not only in the sense of an absence of actual fighting, but in the sense of real fellowship and mutual understanding among the nations. Let us always remember that the work of the League of Nations of which I spoke just now is not merely to arbitrate disputes which are on the point of leading to wars, but to promote in endless small ways the mutual interests of all countries. If you study the amount of good that the League has already accomplished, you will never again doubt its value. Whether it will be effective in altogether preventing war between civilised peoples in future no one can predict. That it has already done very much to further those interests among the nations which are or can be common to them, all can see.

I turn now for a moment to the Church's task in war. Supposing that the nation in

which any part of the Church is placed is committed to a cause unquestionably just, then it may well be the Church's duty to give of its strength in sustaining the will of the nation in that just cause; but that is not the most fundamentally Christian thing to do. It is part of our duty, but only a small part. The supreme need and privilege of the Church in time of war is to try to maintain among people that spirit of charity which will make it possible to heal the wounds of the nations when it is over.

The State will do plenty to maintain men's courage and endurance, but the State will probably do nothing to maintain the aspiration after the wider fellowship which has been broken. If the Church does not do it, it will not be done; but also if the Church does not do it, then the Church is neglecting one of the primary duties for which it was founded—to be a society in which all divisions are bridged. So I would ask that, if it should happen, which God forbid should happen, that our nation should be involved in another great conflict in our lifetime, we, as ministers of the Church, may never neglect to uphold the wider

ideal and call upon people, in all sincerity, to fulfil Christ's one direct command which bears upon that situation, that we should pray for our enemies.

And we are a national Church. That is both a special peril and a special privilege. There is the peculiar peril that it may lead us to leave the proclamation of Christianity and the claims of Christ Himself to follow the dictates of the State or the interests, the narrowly conceived interests, of the nation. You will find people who say that the purpose of an Established Church is to express the religious aspirations of the people, whatever they turn out to be. That cannot be the function of any Christian Church, whether established or not. The function of the Christian Church is to uphold the Gospel of Christ, whether that happens to chime in with the existing aspirations of men in any part of the world or not; and if the State ever insists upon interpreting Establishment as involving a supervision of the Church, in other than its material possessions, then the Church must insist at once on being set free from any such entanglement.

But, on the other hand, the position of a national Church, as it can be interpreted, brings with it an immense privilege; for the true interpretation of Establishment, as I think, is not in any sense that the State takes the Church under its protection or guidance, but that the national State desires to associate itself with the super-national and Divine Society of Christ, thereby pledging itself to use its authority according to His principles and for His purposes. It is therefore our special privilege as a national Church perpetually to call upon the nation and the State to realise that their highest destiny is to serve not their own ends only, but the ends of God and the furtherance of His Kingdom; to protest against the notion that the State is just a piece of political contrivance designed by men for their mere convenience or the furtherance of their secular aims; and to teach its citizens that the State is an agent implanted in the world by God, whose Providence guides human history, and that it fulfils its own being when it serves Him.

VII

SOME FEATURES OF CHURCH LIFE IN THE DIOCESE OF MANCHESTER

[*Delivered to the Clergy of the Rural Deanery of Burnley in Burnley Parish Church on July* 22, 1924.]

To-day I wish to say a little about some of the features of Church life in this diocese as they strike at least one comparatively newcomer. I would begin by reference to some of the historical circumstances which set the conditions under which our work is done.

Lancashire almost more than any other part of the country was the scene of the great concentration of population into comparatively small areas at the time of what is called the Industrial Revolution. It was not in Lancashire alone that this was seen, nor, of course, did it extend over the whole of Lancashire; but there was no place where it was more marked than here, and there is hardly any district of equal size, perhaps none, over which the process was so effective.

We are familiar enough with the facts. By a whole series of profoundly important inventions the older system of industry in the country was very rapidly replaced by a new system, which grew up so quickly that those who were guiding it had very little time, even when they had the inclination, to think of the bigger principles, or of the tendencies social, political and religious, which were involved. There were sudden opportunities of making wealth very rapidly, and that constituted, as it always does, a severe temptation, before which many of the leaders of the movement largely failed.

Meanwhile the Church was ill-equipped for dealing with any such situation. This part of the country was still remote from its own centre of episcopal supervision, so far as supervision was exercised at that time from any centre. There was very little development either in division of parishes and building of churches, or in supply of ministers, until more than a generation had passed from the time when this rapid concentration of population began. The result was that the social effects of all that was involved in the Industrial

Revolution were largely brought about uninfluenced by the spiritual guidance of the Church, and when the Church later in the day began to realise its responsibilities and take up the task, it found the ground already occupied either by other religious bodies or else by a somewhat hardened antipathy to all organised religion.

So much is commonplace. But we have never entirely recovered from the effects, and it must take still some generations before we can do so. A strong set given to the psychological development of whole classes of people can never be rapidly readjusted. It is a far quicker process to give a direction in the first instance to a rapidly forming society than to give a new direction subsequently. One had already been implanted, and we came to our work still suffering from the effects of that earlier neglect. We have still not made up the leeway.

As compared with the south of England our parishes are grotesquely under-staffed; in the great towns of the south they are not over-staffed, but a comparison of their figures with ours is most illuminating. As a result

of two or three fairly large ordinations a considerable alteration in what I am about to quote has taken place; but last summer I had occasion, in connection with the discussion on the division of the diocese, to count the number of parishes in which the population is over 10,000 and the incumbent has no assistant priest or deacon. There were twenty-eight such parishes in this diocese. The population of the diocese is roughly $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions; the population of the London diocese is $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions; but there are between 600 and 700 more priests in the London diocese than we have in the Manchester diocese.

We are still making up for past neglect, and indeed we must recognise that even if there had been no neglect our predecessors could scarcely have been expected to keep pace with the development of the population which went on in this part of the country in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. They began after it had established a long lead upon them, but even had they begun at once they could scarcely have kept up the pace.

Now as a result of this under-staffing

there has undoubtedly grown up among the Laity a sense of the clerical duty which blinds them in large measure to the need for more clergy. They have become used to the working of parishes by inadequate staffs, and part of our difficulty lies precisely here, that they do not know the difference that could be made in the effectiveness of Church work by a really adequate staff of clergy. Therefore they are slower than they would otherwise be, at least in many cases, to support the funds that are raised for assistant clergy. Further, just because the clergy are inevitably so over-burdened with the calls of the great parishes, and with the sense that however hard they work (and I have seen enough of the work in this diocese to know that at any rate in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they work with a heroic devotion), they still cannot really do the work that is calling out to be done,—they have less time than it is healthy that they should have for their own reading, their own prayers, or for any participation in the general life of the diocese and the Church at large.

From that there is bound to come a very

large measure of parochialism in the narrower sense, and here as elsewhere (whether more or not I am not going to say) we are confronted with the difficulty that even those Church-people who will do very much for the work of the Church in their own parish, often scarcely realise the claims of the Church at large as represented by the diocese, the Church Assembly, or the Church overseas. But the mention of the last also brings to mind what is the most splendid corrective of this impression of parochialism—I mean the fact that in so many of our parishes there is a truly noble zeal in the cause of the work of the Church overseas and of the evangelisation of the world. I think if I were asked to single out one characteristic especially honourable to the Church in this diocese it would be that.

I have spoken of some of the historical circumstances and the conditions in which they have issued. All of this, of course, inter-acts with the temperament of the people in creating the special nature of the field in which we have to work, and I think it will not be out of place if I attempt to say something about the temperament of the people as I see

it, and therefore the special strength and weakness of Church work and the points to which special attention needs to be given. First, I think, speaking as relatively a new-comer to whom impressions are as yet still fresh, I should put generosity of feeling, whether the feeling be of affinity or of alienation. There is a great readiness, so to speak, to "let go" either in response to one who really touches their hearts and consciences, or in antagonism against one who fails to bring home his appeal and in any way irritates sensitive points. I suppose this is part of the much-vaunted Lancashire "outspokenness," to which also I shall allude in another connection. Plainly in itself it is a thing neither good nor bad, but capable of being very good or very bad. When it takes the form of antipathy and there is a lack of restraint placed upon the impulse of antagonism, it may easily develop into a settled form of hostility, which is not easily distinguished from malice. When, on the other hand, this same absence of restraint shows itself in personal loyalty or in response to appeals which have drawn out instincts of self-giving and devotion, the

result is an effectiveness of service, and a wealth of bounty, which it is very hard to equal in most parts of our country.

The raw material of human nature is always, from the point of view of him who must work upon it, to be neither praised nor blamed, but used for what it is fit for. As we set upon our work of trying to co-operate with the purpose of God in the lives of those among whom our ministry is set, we need to know the qualities of those among whom we work, not to praise or to blame, but in order wisely to adjust our deeds and words so as to gain the best and avoid the evil results; and there can be no doubt that where a pastor has succeeded among Lancashire folk in really touching their heart or conscience he can be sure of a support and loyalty as great as he will find anywhere.

Along with this there goes the practical and energetic nature of our people. They love to be doing things. They are a little impatient of any effort from which they do not see some amount of real result. They are, as I should judge, essentially reliable when they have given their word. Where

they have pledged themselves to see something through, they do not fail. They may be more slow than others to give the pledge, but that is easily redeemed if they are more trustworthy than others in fulfilling it; and this I think they are. But it always happens that when a disproportionate emphasis is laid on any side of human nature, the other will take its revenge somehow; so it is very natural that we should see, as I think we can see, among our people many traces of strong sentiment and even sentimentalism; and one of the dangers against which, as I think, we ought to be on our guard, is the danger of an over-emphasis on doing things as the real business of life, balanced by a sentimental tenderness as an outlet for emotion which, however, is not allowed to exercise any practical influence on the conduct to which most of attention is given.

I think you will always find that among those who tend to be a little hard in practical or business relationships there is a tendency for religion, and for interest in literature if any such thing exists, to show a strongly sentimental tinge. For the emotions of human

nature must have their outlet somewhere; and they will find it down some channel which leads to no kind of result and is a mere indulgence of feeling, unless they are allowed their place in the actual determination of conduct. If it be true, as I suppose it is, that the aim of all real education is to build up the personality into a harmony wherein all the elements of human nature gain scope for exercise, while each still has its limits set for it by the whole purpose of life, we shall find that aim endangered wherever there are people tending to exercise their emotions all in one field and their practical activities all in another. There is great need to draw them together and to fuse them. It is one of the commonest experiences to find assemblies of persons who are rather hard in their practical dealings most of the week, but who have a special love for strongly sentimental hymns on Sunday evening. It is not a wholesome combination, but it is not to be corrected merely by trying to suppress the outlets for sentiment. I suppose that a fair definition of sentimentalism is "the indulgence of feelings detached from any practical purpose"; and just as

some hardness in practical affairs tends to make other activities of life sentimental, so indulgence in sentimentalism itself tends to a hardness in other affairs of life. What is needed is a drawing of them together; everything we can devise which helps people to realise that their work in the week, and above all the work by which they earn their living, is their chief sphere for serving God, and should be exercised by them as a sacred vocation no less than the ministry is for us, is an incalculable assistance in remedying such dangers as I have just been alluding to. But along with that it seems to me that there is needed in the Church life of this part of the country a special emphasis on the development of the interior life.

There is no more splendid material than that which we are allowed to work with. But it tends to lack depth through its distrust of those activities which lead to no visible results. Every temperament tends to defects of some kind; one is not in any way censuring, if one seeks out the special defects against which we have to be on our guard. With all the magnificent practical energy which is

to be found in the Church life of Lancashire, I seem to detect a special need for developing the interior spiritual life, or, to put it quite simply, a special need to teach people how to pray, and how to worship God, irrespective of any results which they are to expect to find. I shall speak more particularly of this in the next and last section of my Charge.

It is quite true that nothing so greatly assists either wholeness of character or effectiveness of work as development of the spiritual life. Above all things it is the man who has so learned to put his trust in God as to be utterly delivered from anxiety about himself who is genuinely effective in work because he is no longer harassed by the kind of anxiety which comes when self-confidence begins to give way, as it always must when confronted with big enterprises. That is why it is said of the meek, who do not think about themselves, that they shall inherit the earth. But so long as we cultivate the interior life—the life of prayer and fellowship with God—for the sake of any practical results that may be gained from it, we shall not gain the best of those practical results. They come to

those who have learned to seek fellowship with God as the highest end of human life; out of that, as a by-product, there come all manner of results in richness in character and effectiveness, which can never be attained so long as they are directly aimed at; and I am convinced that, while there are great difficulties in the way of the carrying out of this side of our work, as there are always difficulties in doing what is most worth doing; yet I believe there is every reason to suppose that our people can respond to it in a very special way; for I have left to the end what seems to me the most significant as well as the most splendid trait in the Lancashire temperament, and that is, if I estimate it rightly, freedom from contempt.

Contempt is, on the whole, the most horrible quality that can get possession of a man's soul, because it is a mixture of pride with whatever is most remote from love towards others. I have heard cruel things said since I came to this diocese, and I have known some men seem to think they can justify not only saying but also thinking cruelly, because, as they express it, they like to say what they

think. They sometimes seem to suppose that saying what they think will justify them for thinking anything. And yet I have never found one thinking contemptuously; I have never heard a real Lancashire man sneer at anyone. There may be sometimes an enmity which comes near to hatred, but it never has that peculiarly odious characteristic, the sneer of contempt. I believe that really comes from an absence of the worst kind of pride. Even among people who are supremely self-assertive there is an absence of that worst kind of pride—the introverted pride of which contempt is the outward expression. If so, that means that we have people free from the greatest of all obstacles to the life of fellowship with God. And so far as you may find it possible in the infinite pressure of cares and business that lies upon you to develop one side rather than another of the work in your parishes, I would ask you seriously to consider whether what most needs development is not the spiritual and interior life of all those, however different they may be, who you find are led to learn these lessons from you.

I think we can best illustrate a great many

of the points which I have been making from that fact which to the country generally is best known about our Church life, namely, the position of our schools. We have a heritage of schools, both Day Schools and Sunday Schools, which provide a quite priceless opportunity. I believe that we ought to strain every nerve both to preserve our own Church schools and to apply to the Church's policy as a whole the stiffening element which must come from those whose own position is a strong one. We cannot expect those dioceses where the educational position is especially weak to supply very much to stiffen the back of the Church in relation to education. They are bound to be mainly concerned with the best terms that can be got, and with the overwhelming problem, what is to be done for the children in the Council Schools, who are the majority of the children in the country. While we must take our part with them, we must also, I believe, use our special position so as to influence to the very utmost the policy of the Church in the direction of maintaining what we know to be so invaluable an inheritance.

But I have to go on to say that I think that we must do this quite as much for the sake of the opportunity which is presented in our schools as for the sake of what we are now achieving in them. We have seen the Church-people in the diocese respond most nobly and generously to appeals for the necessary support of Church schools, and they have maintained them as they have been maintained scarcely anywhere else. I do not think there has been anything like the same degree of concern about what goes on inside them; and while it is a priceless privilege to have the schools in order that we may exert our influence through them, we are not to be content merely to retain possession of the bricks and mortar while we let the opportunity go unrealised. I do not mean that it is universally or completely unrealised; but I do mean that we have not made of it what could be made of it. We have not yet used it to show to the country in any convincing way what we believe to be the real and essential superiority of the Church tradition in education to every other tradition.

And so with our Sunday Schools, of which

we are justly proud; their numbers make them the envy of many people from the south, and there are many Sunday Schools which are doing invaluable work. There are also many where, so far as I can ascertain, there is hardly any teaching being given; they are rather meeting-places where those who attend join with their friends in rather brief devotions, after which perhaps something is read to them, which may or may not be of a highly instructive kind; and then the people seem to suppose that their religious duties are accomplished. We have to face the possibility that the Sunday School, instead of being the porch to the Church through which the people come to the fuller worship of the congregation, and above all to receive the Life of our Lord as He offers it to us in the Holy Communion, may become an obstacle to fuller Churchmanship through the belief that attendance at such a school as I have described satisfies the requirements of Church membership.

Now I am not going to make any rash or foolish generalisation; but I say that again in our Sunday Schools we see the weakness

of a habit of mind which lays all its emphasis upon that side of life which may be described as "Doing," instead of the side of life which may be described as "Being"; and Being is always greater, fundamentally, than Doing. In the long run men do according to what they are, and whilst, when habits are once established, doing may continue long after its springs in character are running very dry, that cannot go on for ever, and it is only by constant replenishing of the inward life that the practical work of the Church may be maintained.

So my summary would be this: Here we have a field made to us extraordinarily difficult by the fact that the ministry is not numerous enough for the work that needs to be done; but it is a field full of the greatest possible opportunities, many of which are being nobly taken, while some are being missed simply through force of the circumstances that I have named; but it is a field which at every point seems to require above all things, as perhaps the Church's life everywhere requires, the striking of deeper roots, greater concern for the patient

teaching work which shows no results at first, but shows far greater results in the end, and above all a greater concern for the development of the inward spiritual life, the life of prayer, the life of worship, the life of fellowship with God.

VIII

THE DEVOTIONAL LIFE

[*Delivered to the Clergy of the Rural Deaneries of Lancaster and Tunstal in Lancaster Parish Church on July* 26, 1924.]

I HAVE been speaking on different aspects of the work of the Church, in the world, in our own country, and in this diocese. All that has led up to what I wish to say as being the chief need, as I see it, of Church work in our own part of the country, namely, the development of the devotional life. In the last section of this Charge I tried to show some reasons why that is specially important among us here—reasons based partly on our local conditions, partly on the temperament of the people among whom we work. I would approach the consideration of the devotional life, which seems to me to have for us so very special and primary importance at this time, from the point of view of the relation between character and conduct, between being and doing.

The temperament of the people in this part of England—in less measure, perhaps, but quite emphatically all over England—is always more concerned about conduct than about anything else. That has at least this degree of real justification, that conduct is the only truly satisfying test of character; but it must be conduct regarded in the long run, for it is quite possible for people to maintain high standards of conduct from motives far short of the best, as, for example, from fear of the consequences if they take any other course, or from concern for their reputation, or, again, from the sheer delight which practical people have in getting things done; and unless the motive is really the highest, or rather unless the highest motive takes a place, and that the first place, in the prompting of the conduct, the conduct itself is precarious. None of the other grounds is sufficient; and therefore even if people are mainly concerned about conduct and the actual doing of things, they should still be vitally concerned about the character which expresses itself in that conduct, and which must be maintained if the conduct is not to suffer. Indeed, even though we begin from the practical end,

we are pressed back upon the conviction that so long as we are mainly concerned about character, and about the inward life, chiefly for the sake of its outward results, we shall never get the best outward results.

I think I should not be far wrong in saying that most of our people, for example, regard prayer chiefly as a means of helping to get things done. They pray largely and rightly for specific causes; but their prayer is a part of their outward activity. I wish to suggest that while that is a very real part of prayer, if it becomes either the whole of it or the predominant part of it, the prayer will be much less potent than if prayer is regarded as an end in itself, and indeed the highest end. The aim of human life is to be in fellowship with God. That would include fellowship in all the Divine activities to which we are called as participators, and certainly it will express itself in the conduct of devoted lives; but this conduct will never be thought of as a special reason for or a special justification of the devotional life itself, which is its own end and from which these other results flow as a kind of celestial by-product.

Now the Christian character is absolutely rooted in humility. If you read the Beatitudes and think, with regard at least to some of them, how the world regards, and inevitably regards, those who aim self-consciously at the various qualities there called blessed, you will realise that the rest of the Christian character, without the fundamental grace of humility, is far from attractive; it is, indeed, peculiarly irritating. There is no one so vexatious, for instance, as the officious peace-maker, who thinks it necessary to put his finger into everybody else's quarrels and show them how they should make up their differences; but the real Christian is a peace-maker because wherever he goes people do not quarrel; and the sheer love which he feels, quite disinterestedly, towards both the parties in any dispute draws them to one another, so that he is able to be a peace-maker without becoming offensive precisely because in all his actions there is no thought of himself. The real Christian is as remote as any kind of person can be from all that is meant by a prig; and yet it very usually happens that people who devote themselves to good work and to doing good to their neigh-

bours, come at last to be thought of as prigs; and the cure for this is to be found in that absolute absence of self-concern which ought to be the result of a really strong devotional life, wherein the worshipper is not mainly thinking either of himself or his destiny or his work or his sins, but of God, so that though these other matters must come in incidentally, they are always incidental only, and what really fills the heart and mind is God Himself.

So, as it seems to me, we need to lead our people, with all the power that we can bring to bear, to think of prayer, not only as a means of getting good things done, though that it is, but as intercourse of the soul with God, precious for itself; to think of worship not only as uplifting the individual who worships, though that it does, but as the actual fulfilment of human destiny, where the soul devotes and dedicates itself to the heavenly Father; and of Holy Communion not only as morally strengthening for the battle of life, though that it is, but as achieving, if only for a moment, yet for a moment that is to be perpetually deepened and extended until it covers life, the communion of the soul with God

in Christ. If I am not wrong in the impression that three years' work in this diocese has brought to my mind, our people do need teaching on these points, and above all they need teaching about prayer.

If I venture now to outline some of the points which I think such teaching should press home, you will not suppose that I imagine myself to be saying anything to you that you do not already urge and impress upon your people: I do it simply because at such a time I think it is useful to try to gather up what is familiar to us all, but what very often in the busy life of a parish priest, and certainly of a diocesan bishop, may be left scattered about in the mind and not brought together so as to have its full strength of meaning.

So in all prayer let us be quite clear that we are putting God Himself first, not only in the sense of desiring that His will, not ours, should be done, nor, again, only in the sense of making our approach to Him our first concern, but of trying to realise that He, in His unbounded love and wisdom, is constantly guiding us and all the world, and that we before Him are very puny and insignificant creatures, who are only

admitted to the freedom of His presence because of the depth of His love.

I think there can be no doubt at all, that everything which emphasises the objectivity of worship as distinct from its merely subjective effect upon the worshipper, whether individual or congregational, tends greatly to deepen both the worship that is offered and also to make it impress upon the soul that character of humility, of which I have already spoken as utterly fundamental to the whole Christian life. For the source of humility, after all, is the habit of realising the presence of God. Humility does not mean thinking less of yourself than of other people, nor does it mean having a low opinion of your own gifts. It means freedom from thinking about yourself one way or the other at all. It may be quite right that a man conscious of certain powers given him by God should desire the opportunity to exercise those powers for God. It may be quite right that under certain circumstances a man should insist that he is more capable than another man of doing something that must be done. No one would select as an example of humility the elder Pitt; but there

was nothing contrary to humility in his alleged declaration to the Duke of Devonshire: "I know that I can save this country and I know that no one else can." He knew the political life of the time pretty well; he was conscious of power in himself, and in a few years he showed that he was right in what he said of himself; only if he set about his task in his own interest or for self-glorification did he fail in humility.

Humility means that you feel yourself, as a distinct person, out of count, and give your whole mind and thought to the object towards which they are directed, to God Himself in worship and to the fulfilment of His will in Christian love; and humility, in that sense, is quite plainly a source of effectiveness. The humility which consists in being a great deal occupied about yourself, and saying you are of little worth, is not Christian humility. It is one form of self-occupation, and a very poor and futile one at that; but real humility makes for effectiveness because it delivers a man from anxiety, and we all know that in all undertakings, from the smallest to the greatest, the chief source of feebleness is anxiety. Even in

a game we all know that nothing so much paralyses good play as anxiety. If you once begin to wonder whether you are going to catch the ball you will drop it, but if you just catch it without thinking about anything but catching it—not, above all, of what other people are going to think of you—probably you will hold it. That goes through everything, from such a simple act to the greatest. But there is nothing big enough to hold a man's soul in detachment from the centre of himself through all the occupations of life except the majesty of God and His love; and it is in worship, worship given to God because He is God, that man will most learn the secret of real humility.

But as we lay stress on that fundamental principle, so I wish we could lay more stress on outward behaviour at times of worship and in the place of worship. One notices in many churches in this part of the country a great friendliness in the congregation which is purely good and delightful; but when that expresses itself in quite loud conversation in the church building immediately after the service is over, it must inevitably detract from the sense of

worship. It is good for all of us, I think, to have places which we set apart for reverence, not because there is anything inherently irreverent in friendly conversation of the most trifling description, but because if we allow those other interests to come upon us in the very places where we also desire, by the help of association as in other ways, to deepen our reverence before God, we shall, in fact, weaken that element in our worship.

Then I could wish that everywhere people could be taught to kneel down to say their prayers. Of course it is possible to pray in any bodily position, and God is equally ready to hear the sincere prayer of His children in whatever position they pray; but everybody who has read the smallest fraction of psychology knows that our outward gestures influence very greatly our state of feeling. The motto "Keep smiling" is a perfectly sound motto for maintaining cheerfulness under depression; over and over again if one is depressed, one immediately feels more cheerful if one deliberately adopts a cheerful expression. So it is with the emotions which are gathered together in reverence; I confess I would like to ask that

if people are not going to kneel they should stand, and that if they sit they should sit straight upright. There can be, I think, no position so singularly inconducive to reverence as that of those who sit crouching forward. Except so far as it is associated in their minds with prayer by long (and I think bad) custom, it cannot have any effect but that of hindering their perception of anything in heaven or earth. I would like to ask that we should endeavour, gently and tactfully, to abolish this attitude in prayer. There is no doubt that to be on our knees, although the mind may wander, does influence us, because it most suggests reverence, and thus induces the habit of reverence in the mind.

Then, further, let us try to encourage our people to exercise that particular form of boldness or confidence which is spoken of in the New Testament, where the word usually translated in that way is "παῤῥησία," which means freedom of speech. We have freedom of speech with God. We used to hear from chaplains in the war how men would say, "Do say a prayer for me, padre. I should like to pray, but I don't know one." Why should you have to

know a prayer? Why not speak to your Father? You need not do it out of a book or in elaborate phrases. Tell Him what you are feeling. He knows, of course; but He will welcome it. Let us be in the habit of being able to speak quite naturally and easily to God, having first learned to kneel before Him both with our bodies and our minds, so that the ease of our speech will not reflect any irreverence of thought.

Then, again, as we teach people to speak freely to God, so we should teach them, more than I think we usually do, to plan out their prayers, so as to have some ordered scheme of intercession. I have been rather surprised at finding who are the people to whom this has been a new idea; and I believe that one of the weaknesses of our teaching in the Church is that when we have become familiar with any thought ourselves, we suppose everybody else is equally familiar with it, and consequently we do not teach the simple things enough. Every schoolmaster who has a form goes over the same ground again and again, because the boys have moved on, a new set have come, and he knows the new boys need to be taught the old

lesson. When you realise that at the end of a sermon most members of the congregation will only remember a quarter of what you have said, and at the end of two or three months they will have forgotten that, you also realise that, so long as you don't use the same series of illustrations to point the moral, the substance of your teaching ought to be given over and over again. There are certain subjects on which the very seasons of the Church's year bring us back to the central points of Christian teaching and practice; but I am sure that we need to remind ourselves that what is familiar to us and may be the very most important part of practical religion, may not be in the least familiar to many people in the congregation we are addressing. I suppose it is because of this that, even when Church-people are eager and earnest in their religious practice, they have sometimes never thought, and to my surprise never been taught, to plan their intercessions so as to pray for different great concerns, that are or ought to be on their minds, on different days of the week or different days of the month.

But when we try in that way to plan our intercessions so as really to cover the field of

that for which we ought to pray, let us remember also that prayer is an activity of love. You cannot pray where you have no love. Prayer is the giving out of our love, in communion with the love of God, towards those for whom we pray; but if there is no love in us for those for whom we are saying prayers, there will be no true prayer said. Therefore we must first try really to imagine the things which we bring before God in prayer. Whilst it is true that there can be no prayer where there is no love, yet where there is very little love, prayer can increase it; and by expressing in our prayer the very little love we have, it may be, for example, for the unconverted heathen, we shall come to feel more love for them.

All real prayer is the activity of the Holy Ghost in our souls. All our work for God is the activity of the Holy Ghost within us. No man can do God's work—only God can do that; and therefore as we pray, and as we try to realise the needs of those for whom we pray and to care for them, which means begin to love them, let us remember that this love within our hearts is the Holy Ghost. The

love wherewith a man loves God and his brother is the Holy Ghost; so the great Doctors of the Church have always said. The power within ourselves is not ours, but the Spirit, which maketh intercession according to the will of God. That power of prayer is always there for us who have learned to pray; the more we realise it the better it will be, and the more we shall create in ourselves that spirit of humility or self-forgetfulness about which I spoke just now. For we shall realise that we must not only lose ourselves before Him to whom we pray, but we shall realise that even our prayer is not ours, but His utterance within us.

A further point which I think we need to urge upon our people is the supreme importance of leaving space in which God may speak to them. We are often content, when in His presence, to occupy the whole time with words of our own; but we should ourselves always make it a habit, and try to help our people to make it a habit, after uttering our prayers, to maintain a great silence, not only from speech but also as far as possible from thought, in which we leave ourselves passive in the hands

of God for Him to do with us what He will; and though nine times out of ten we may not be conscious of His saying or doing anything within us, still if we have these times when we leave ourselves surrendered to Him, we shall find, as we go about the world, that thoughts come to us just when they are needed, so that we have impulses for which we cannot account until afterwards—it may be to go and see some friend, who we find was needing us just then. In countless ways we find ourselves becoming conscious of the influence of the Spirit. Certainly it has been my experience that in times when I have been taking anything approaching proper trouble about my own devotional life, these coincidences have become very frequent, and when I have become slack they have ceased. There is in my own mind not the slightest doubt that there is a constant operation of the Divine Spirit ready to work upon us, to which we render ourselves sensitive by the maintenance of our devotional life, and especially by taking care that we make part of it a time when we leave ourselves passive in God's hands for Him to shape us as He will.

One other point, however we may phrase it:

people often shrink from devotional exercises when spoken of under their technical names; they think such activities are for specialists only. But by whatever name we call it, I am sure we ought to teach our people much more of the secret of meditation. We have among us a very large number of Bible-loving people, and that is a precious thing; but there are a great many among them who only gain a fraction of what they might, because when they have finished their reading they either turn at once to some practical consideration or pass straight on to their prayers; but if we are to find the meaning of God's message given to us in the Bible, we must have a place in our reading, as after our prayers, for it to come home to our hearts, as far as may be refraining from all thoughts of our own and letting our minds, as just now our souls, lie passive in God's hand, for Him to guide their reflections and bring home to us, in our own circumstances, the inward message of what we have just read with our eyes, or heard with our ears.

So, then, let us try to teach our people the technique of prayer and the elements of it.

There may be comparatively few people called to "unitive prayer," or there may be many, if once we put their feet on the right track. But all Christians can practise careful and methodical prayer if they will but take some trouble about it. It is one of the arts of life and is not to be learned without thought and care. We must help our people to study this art of prayer; especially we must impress upon them that the perfection of prayer is sheer adoration in the completest self-forgetfulness, and has for its culmination that Holy Communion wherein we receive Christ's life as He accepts ours, and dedicate our lives that He may consecrate us.

These are some of the things which, as they lie at the very root of all spiritual life, and therefore of the very existence of the Church, seem to me to be specially needed in the part of the country where God has called us to the wonderful privilege of speaking in His name and shepherding His flock.

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